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WILL HISTORY REPEAT?*

IT has always been difficult to ascertain the role of the historian. To some, he is the individual who calmly and objectively analyzes the mistakes of mankind in the remote and also in the immediate past, and who then outlines a future free from the errors of preceding years. It has been said that man, without man's past, is meaningless. The historian presumably tries to keep man from becoming meaningless. In view of man's conduct during the twentieth century, it is evident that this is a difficult assignment. Other commentators on the role of the historian are less considerate. Some think the historian and the mortician have much in common. Neither deals intimately with the living; each is concerned with the remains of the past. Viewed under this aspect, the historian's role is a dismal one. Others consider the historian as a seer, able to foretell the secrets of the remote future, simply because he has a bowing acquaintance with the major events of the past. It is difficult to tell whether these latter individuals are friends or enemies of the historian. They are the ones who insist that history repeats itself. If one knows the past, they maintain that he will likewise know the future. Still others demand of the historian that he become a competent ethicist, handing down ethical decisions relative to any and all problems and events of the past.

Needless to say, these conflicting opinions are confusing to the average teacher of history. He does not wish to be considered a prophet; neither does he consider himself especially competent in the field of

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ethics. Ordinarily he does not wish to be considered merely a human encyclopedia, since he believes that his ability to understand and interpret the events of the past should be given due consideration. If he is honest with himself, he is apt to be more than a little puzzled by the conflicting changes within the last quarter of a century. He has been inclined to think of World War I as the culmination of what we call modern history; now it appears as though that conflict had been merely the prelude to the greater one that has been in progress, as an actual war, since 1939. He wonders as to whether or not this upheaval, which he is at present inclined to view as the apex of the disturbances of the modern period, may possibly be only the forerunner of still another catastrophic war, in which men will devise even more cleverly than they have to date, instruments capable of wiping out all vestiges of civilization, and if possible, the people responsible for it. He wonders, too, as to his degree of responsibility for the inability of mankind to live at peace with itself.

Following the holocaust of 1914-1918, he recalls that efforts were made by representative historians in the various European nations to produce a co-operative history of the first World War, which when translated into the various languages, would serve as a common basis for the study of the causes of and the events of that conflict. The effort failed, as we know, and, in part, because of that failure we are now experiencing World War II. The German historian considered the French and Russians as the instigators of the war; the French and Russian historians could think only of Austrians and Germans when they thought of those responsible for the dark days of 1914. Accordingly, each national group of historians continued to teach misleading history and lies, from 1919 to 1939. By the latter year, a generation of young men in each European nation was willing to give up in war its right to live, due to its absorption of the deliberate lies fostered by the scholars in the field of history in the period following the earlier great war. And so it may be again. The historian need not commit himself to the belief that history will repeat; he need merely observe that an evil situation is apt to exist until curative measures are instituted with a view toward improvement. The historian realizes that national hatreds, if fostered sedulously each generation by the teachers of youth, can never die out, but rather, will be sure to claim an increasing number of vic-

tims with the passage of time. The historians and the professional soldiers in European states have, in effect, co-operated to guarantee the perpetuity of armed conflict. Many of the historians would reject any implication of similarity between their attitudes and those of the so-called Prussian school of historians; actually, there have been Treitschkes at work in every European nation since 1920, aiding in the formation of the national attitudes which make wars honorable and necessary. Unless corrective steps are taken, we may as well realize that these purveyors of national hatreds will be even more actively engaged in the twenty years immediately ahead than they have been in the past. Left to themselves, the ultra-nationalist historians of the world will arrange for a third and even more terrible world war. They will be able to do this, in spite of all that presidents, prime ministers, kings, and popes will be able to do in the interest of a lasting peace. No peace machinery can work if the people in the various nations are constantly consuming a garbled story of the past, a story in which distortion and half-truths are cunningly merged to produce the desired effect. Historians who are critical of their own national history are too few for the future welfare of mankind. If the historians of each nation absolve that particular nation from all blame in connection with international friction, it is only natural that a holier-than-thou attitude should develop among the citizenry. The historians of today will be able, in my opinion, to exert more of an influence upon tomorrow than will any other group. That is a tremendous responsibility. Mens minds may continue to absorb poison instead of uncontaminated history. If that is to be the case, another war is already brewing, and there is no reason why we may have to wait a generation before witnessing it. About fifty-five years elapsed between the end of the Napoleonic struggle and the Franco-Prussian war; about forty-five years between the end of the latter war and the first World War; about twenty years between the end of the first World War and the opening of the second world conflict. The sands of time are running out. We cannot plan on a generation of time in which to plan leisurely for the eradication of war. It is essential that we now do what should have been done many years ago, i.e., label as subversive of world welfare any distortion of a nation's history. History must become more and more an international account, rather than a national account, and as an

international account, it must be made increasingly free from errors masquerading as patriotism.

As we look back a quarter of a century at the world described by the historian of that era, we find that there was much of promise in it, and little that seemed threatening. It seemed then as though a war might miraculously usher in an era of peace, rather than merely a time of preparation for another conflict. The civilians in the nations that had been at war did not hate one another as they do in the present war; the leaders of the various nations seemed genuinely interested in making another great war impossible and unthinkable. The allies professed to be friends; the Central Powers had been so thoroughly defeated that they did not represent a threat to world peace. The spirit of the day seemed reflected in some of the remarks made by President Poincaré of France at the opening session of the Paris Peace Conference, when he observed:

> The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater, than a great political and military event; it was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their Chief Magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conflict which was lacerating humanity. It was not only to protect themselves from the audacious aims of German megalomania that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also, and above all, to defend an ideal of liberty over which they saw the huge shadow of the Imperial Eagle encroaching farther every day. America, the daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to wrest her mother from the humiliation of thraldom and to save civilization. The American people wished to put an end to the greatest crime that had ever sullied the annals of mankind.[1]

Then, as Poincaré turned his eyes toward the bright new world which he envisaged, he added:

> While introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the Great Allied Powers, establish a general League of Nations, which will be a supreme guarantee against any fresh assaults upon the right of peoples. You do not intend this International Association to be directed against anybody in the future. It will not of set purpose shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the

[1] Charles F. Horne (Ed.) *Source Records of the Great War,* (Indianapolis, 1923), VII, 39-40.

> nations that have sacrificed themselves in defense of Right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules. . . . By establishing this new order of things you will meet the aspirations of humanity, which after the frightful convulsions of these bloodstained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free peoples against the ever possible revivals of primitive savagery. An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to cooperate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood, and who have taken pains to eliminate from the future peace any causes of disturbance and instability. . . . You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you, gentlemen, to your grave deliberations, and I declare the Conference of Paris open.[2]

Those were the words which so auspiciously opened the conference which was to make war humanly impossible. The words spoken by the other world leaders in attendance were fully as hopeful and cordial as those voiced by Poincaré. Even the usually cynical Clemenceau was enthusiastic about the possibility of a roseate world, free from age-old hatreds. This seems clear from some of the remarks he made in his opening address on January 18, 1919:

> I said in the Chamber of Deputies some days ago, and I have made a point of repeating the statement here, that success is possible only if we remain firmly united. We have come here as friends. . . . That is the first reflection which I am anxious to express to you. Everything must be subordinated to the necessity for a closer and closer union between the peoples which have taken part in this great war. The Society of Nations has its being here, it has its being in you. It is for you to make it live, and for that there is no sacrifice to which we are not ready to consent. I do not doubt that as you are all of this disposition we shall arrive at this result, but only on condition that we exercise impartial pressure on ourselves to reconcile what in appearance may be opposing interests in the higher view of a greater, happier, and better humanity. That, gentlemen, is what I had to say to you.[3]

On the other hand, we have every reason to believe that many of the delegates to the peace conference must have felt toward Germany as the Rumanian delegate, Bratiano, who maintained bitterly:

> The awful thing about Germany, you see, is not only that her mentality is that of a savage, but that she has such a mentality without realizing

[2] *Ibid.*, VII, 42-43.

[3] *Ibid.*, 47.

it. She is cruel instinctively and without effort. She is cruel with a scientific refinement that almost amounts to genius.[4]

Such expressions, however, seemed less symptomatic of the general feeling of the delegates than those expressed by Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson. The former declared simply: "It is our wish that Germany should turn aside from schemes of military domination and devote all her strength to the great beneficent tasks of the world,"[5] and the latter declared " . . . our most immediate duty appears to me to be to devote ourselves in friendship to mankind."[6]

With the details of the peace conference we are not here concerned. The harmony that marked the opening session soon disappeared, as we well know. The result, which seemed to satisfy no one, was signed by the sullen and resentful German delegates on June 28, 1919. As we know, the Germans in signing the treaty in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, the same room in which the German Empire had been born in 1871, were practically signing the death warrant of that same empire. The bitterness of the German people is perhaps well expressed by Dr. Rohrbach, Prussian by birth, militarist by inclination:

The whole world looked up to him [Wilson] and felt that its fate hung from his decisions. But this man, elevated to such a height, revealed himself as a surprisingly small soul in the hour of decision. The conception of a League of Nations must have resided in his head as a cloudy dream, never theoretically or practically workable. If Wilson had been capable of conceiving the League as a political actuality, he would have seen beforehand that such an institution, in the form he proposed it, would encounter insuperable opposition from his own allies. Only a dreamer — a political simpleton — could imagine for a moment that the rulers of the Entente would consent to anything but a predatory peace. No league of nations was compatible with this. If Wilson was really determined to have a league, he should have insisted in the very beginning upon sufficient guarantees from England, Italy, and France. As soon as Clemenceau and Lloyd George had succeeded in completely disarming Germany by the conditions of the armistice, Wilson's League of Nations was dead and buried. The world saw its author dangling a mere inflated rubber image of the League, in place of the real thing. He no longer im-

[4] *Ibid.*, VII, 60.
[5] *Ibid.*, 66.
[6] *Ibid.*

> posed his ideals on any one, least of all upon his allies. Thereupon, he preferred to accept the mere mockery of his plan, instead of frankly acknowledging his defeat and withdrawing with dignity from the unsuccessful contest.[7]

This pessimistic evaluation of the treaty seems rather justified in view of the later history of that document. In passing, permit me to say that it seems altogether erroneous to contend that the League of Nations was destroyed by the unwillingness of the United States to enter that organization. Had the European powers maintained a will toward peace, peace could have been preserved. If the English and the French had fostered a friendly and co-operative spirit, it would have been impossible for Hitler to rearm. Needless to say, in fairness to the Third Reich, England and France failed to disarm themselves, as the spirit of the treaty demanded. It is difficult and pointless to try to determine what nation first broke the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Versailles. The only thing that matters is that the treaty was broken, by both its presumed friends and its presumed enemies.

The result of the destruction of the Versailles Treaty is the world of today. Once more idealism is being expressed. One wonders as to whether it may be more lasting than the idealism expressed in January, 1919, and forgotten by June of that same year. The writer of these words was an eye witness to the enthusiasm and idealism which seemed to permeate the people of London in September, 1939, when the present war broke out. There seemed to be a willingness to accept Poland as the issue in the war. Poland had been unjustly attacked by Hitler. England would now fight to destroy Hitler and his influence, and restore Poland to her position as of September 1, 1939. It was as simple as that. Ideals must be kept simple if they are to remain as ideals. Once the weasel words of diplomacy are introduced, the ideal disappears, and that which is considered more realistic is substituted for the presumably utopian and unrealizable ideal. Today one hears nothing definite as to the restoration of Poland. One hears rumors to the effect that Poland will not be given her 1939 boundaries. Instead, she may be allowed to steal some land from the Third Reich. In that way, a seed is planted, which if duly nourished by the fertilizer of human hatreds, will blossom in due time into the horror of World

[7] *Ibid.*, 192.

War III. Has there not already been enough evidence presented by the historian to prove that land theft almost invariably leads to a desire for revenge, and that the motive for revenge will keep the spirit of war alive indefinitely, since the evil thing can then be skillfully disguised as love of country and pure patriotism? Whose fault is it that as we try to lay the foundations of a new peace structure, we utterly disregard the faulty foundations of the one which has just crashed about our bowed, bewildered, and bloody heads?

Although we have said that the historian is not a seer, nevertheless we must permit the historian to peer into the future if he so desires. The historian is no less interested than his neighbor in the world of the future. He wonders what type of peace will follow the present conflict. He wonders what the world will be like twenty-five years from the date upon which actual hostilities will cease in the second World War. Being blessed or cursed, as you wish, with a fairly retentive memory, he remembers that Wilson and others in 1918 and 1919 stated that only a peace among equals could last. The historian is apt to believe that one reason for the failure of the Treaty of Versailles was the fact that it was decidedly not a peace among equals. The historian is inclined to be skeptical of the lasting merits of a peace imposed by the greater powers on the rest of the world. He does not believe that all the great powers of today will be scrupulously just, simply because they are large nations; neither does he believe that friendships forged of necessity in war are always lasting.

From what he has been able to learn of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the historian is apt to conclude that the three great powers of England, Russia, and the United States will for all practical purposes dominate the world. He is concerned as to how this plan will work out in practice, since certainly there are great differences in the governmental philosophies of the three nations mentioned. If deep differences develop, it is not clear that the problem will be submitted to an impartial and uninfluenced board for arbitration. It is not clear to the historian that the various great nations have surrendered their national sovereignties. He wonders as to whether war will disappear if the power to declare war is not clearly and definitely taken away from each nation, great and small. He wonders if the people in those

nations are ready to give up that power, under any and all circumstances. In short, he wonders if the people of the world have anything more than an emotional yearning for peace. He wonders if they want it ardently enough to give up something in order to get it. He wonders why the great nations retain the power to declare war if, as they fervently profess, they never intend to use it.

The historian is troubled, too, by those deep civilian hatreds which have been generated in this war. The air raids on civilians, the use of the robot bomb, the drowning of civilians, the concentration camp, the forced labor of captured civilians, and many other factors peculiar to this war have made Englishmen hate Germans, and Germans hate Englishmen, to a greater degree than was ever formerly the case. The atrocities connected with this war have been more clearly proved than was the case with many of the so-called atrocities of World War I. One shudders at the horror associated with the saturation bombing of German cities. That is, one does who happens to retain the Christian spirit. Many have given up that spirit, maintaining that one cannot be a good citizen and at the same time retain the spirit of the New Testament. Interestingly enough, Hitler told the Germans the same thing.

On the other hand, there is no justification for remarking that because the German atrocity stories associated with World War I were proved in practically every case to be lies by the English writer, Arthur Ponsonby, therefore all the stories of outrages associated with the present war are lies. History does not necessarily repeat itself. It is difficult to disregard what appears to be factual evidence relative to the execution of civilians of all ages by the Germans at Maidanek and at Treblinka, Poland. Even the most cold-blooded historian is apt to be at least somewhat concerned by the charge that at least one million Poles were obliterated at the former concentration camp, and perhaps four million at the latter place. Earlier in the present war, accusations which seemed well-nigh incredible were made by Cardinal Hlond. It seems impossible to conclude that the information advanced relative to Maidanek and Treblinka, as well as that certified by Cardinal Hlond, is simply fabricated in order to stir up resentment against the Third Reich. Looking at the horrors of war from the German

viewpoint, we can, of course, understand that the Germans are convinced that the Allies are now committed, through saturation bombing, to the technique of mass murder. In view, for example, of the Allied boast that 10,000 tons of high explosives were dumped on Cologne in less than four days, in late October, 1944, a person with little imagination can understand why Germany feels herself justified in using the V-1 and V-2 and similar weapons in a last desperate effort to stave off defeat. The attitude seems now rather well accepted in both camps, that ethics is suspended in war, and accordingly, any technique may be used for killing enemy civilians or soldiers, since in war the objective must be to kill as many of the enemy as possible as quickly as possible and as cheaply as possible. That, incidentally, was the attitude expressed by our Secretary of War Baker in World War I. A nation fighting for its life evidently believes that no restrictions on conduct need be observed.

As our historian fearfully peers into the future, he is not sure whether he hopes that history will repeat or will not repeat. He is asking himself as to whether or not the peace will be by domination or by equality. He no longer hears it said that only a peace among equals will last. No Allied leader is maintaining, as Wilson did, that only a "peace without victory" would be permanent. Despite the plea by Pius XII that the nations of the world undertake progressive disarmament as a step toward lasting peace, we know that the great nations of the world, including our own, were never more opposed to disarmament than they are today. Plans are being made in this country for universal military service, and for the maintenance of the world's greatest navy. What does that mean? Does it mean that we have no faith in any machinery designed to keep the peace? Does it mean that we suspect our own Allies? Does it mean that we feel that Germany and Japan will be ready for another war in the foreseeable future? Does it mean that the Dumbarton Oaks Conference had no real significance? Does it mean that the three great armed powers are going to run the world of the future? Does it mean that three men will try to make the peace terms for the world, as three men tried, and failed, a quarter of a century ago? A great conference on air rights in the world of the future, held in November, 1944, made it clear that nationalism was never stronger and more jealous than it is today. Is

that a happy augury for the future? Can the airplane of the future be controlled by anything less than an international agency? If so, by what? The historian is uncertain as to the answers.

The historian wonders, too, as to whether or not the state of the future will not be a dictator-democratic state. He has been made aware of the danger to the average citizen, even in the so-called democratic state. If the state, presumably a democratic one, can control the very life of the individual citizen, what is the difference between such a state and one which has one man as a dictator? Will the democratic states ever again have the courage to try democracy as a mode of government? If they do, will they survive against the dictator controlled state? And as education becomes more and more state-controlled, what freedom will the historian have to criticize the government? As the historian becomes merely a servant of the all-powerful state, will not criticism simply be still-born? The omnipotent state does not invite criticism. Is there any justification for history, if history cannot be critical? Will it be possible for the non-state controlled school to function in the years ahead, and thereby provide a field of operation for the historian who is not dependent on the state? Will the increasingly powerful state be friendly to privately controlled education in the world of the future? Will it be possible for the privately controlled school to convince the citizenry of the nation that the private school, and its history teachers, may prove to be one of the last centers of academic freedom in the nation? Can such institutions and such teachers make it clear to the rest of the nation that academic freedom must be maintained if America is to remain free? Will American principles, as we have known them, be fostered by the history teachers in the privately controlled school, regardless of the cost involved? How sacred do we consider the blessings of liberty? The importance of the American Catholic Historical Association at its fiftieth anniversary meeting will be largely determined by the attitude taken by the teachers of history in relation to the inquiries here registered.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

A Survey of Twenty-Five Years

IT is suitable that the silver jubilee of our Association should be held in Chicago, for it was in this city at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1914 that the idea of our own Association came into the mind of Dr. Guilday. That larger group had then been in existence for about thirty years and was already numerous and famous. Dr. Guilday, then a young but well-known scholar, attended the meeting and was startled to find Catholic scholarship almost unrepresented there. To be sure, there must have been some scholars present who were Catholics, but they were from secular institutions of learning and secular backgrounds with secular interests in history. Scholars from Catholic institutions and colleges were not present. Church history was unrepresented there except incidentally and casually.

This was distressing in itself, for it betokened the remoteness of our learned men and women from a sphere in which many of them were qualified to move with grace and in which they might take an interest both with profit to themselves and with good influence upon others. Not only did our historians lack desirable contact with scholars in the wider field, but the fact brought out the further fact that they lacked the proper contact among themselves. The existing societies for the study of Catholic history were old and rightly honored for their work of many years. Yet they were local in fact, if not in intention. The times called for an association of Catholic historical scholarship which would be national in make-up, which would create a social atmosphere encouraging to scholarship, and which would provide the opportunity for wider contacts in the learned world which had come in our day to be desirable.

The thought of an association which would be Catholic in its composition but which would hold its annual meetings concurrently with the larger group and in the same city, seemed to hold the elements of

success and of the widest possible usefulness. Thus the American Catholic Historical Association came into being as an idea. It took several years of dreaming and planning before the idea was born into the world of realities.

To the realization of the idea there were some actual and many seeming obstacles. A good many people were probably aware of the obstacles and did nothing but remark their existence. But Dr. Guilday was not the one to let matters lie where they were. With his own reputation and contacts well established he might have been satisfied had he been a lesser man. But he had more than personal scholarship. He had generous and far-seeing understanding. He was not of the sort who merely accept facts. He worked and planned to make facts come nearer the ideal. Out of this came our Association which was actually formed in December, 1919, at the time of the Cleveland meeting of the American Historical Association.

Our archives contain a long and interesting file of correspondence leading up to this meeting. It was necessary to have an important and representative group in order to make sure that resolutions would pass into action. About sixty leading names were on the list of acceptances for the Cleveland meeting and most of these men were actually there. Monsignor Thomas C. O'Reilly of Cleveland, afterwards Bishop of Scranton, Richard H. Tierney, S.J., Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia, Charles L. Souvay, C.M., Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., were some of those present, and all in all it was a group well selected for the accomplishment of the end in view. The honor of moving for the resolution which created the Association went to Victor O'Daniel. When the Cleveland meeting broke up the Association existed, and it remained for the executive group to work earnestly for the next year to assure the success of the first annual meeting in Washington in 1920.

It is interesting now to look back on some of the objections with which the new project met. To begin with there was a certain timidity on the part of many of our own people. Some had been disillusioned at the failure of past experiments. Others recognized their isolation and were quite content with it. Some trembled at the possibilities of expenses. Some were willing to go along, but on condition that the group would furnish an occasion for "rubbing" things in. Some

Catholics in secular colleges feared the obtrusion of unpleasant questions, of racial and political passions. One, afterwards an officer of the group, warned us against what he called "ethnical braggadocio." All in all a considerable quantity of cold water was thrown. In certain quarters the founders experienced a semi-glacial chill. The dissipation of such ideas was one of the first accomplishments of the Association. The creation of a circle of warm and hospitable interest among our own for Catholic scholarship is one of the permanent results of our twenty-five years of life and work.

On the other hand, it might have seemed questionable what welcome would be forthcoming for such a group as ours. The isolation of our scholars had as a result that other workers in the field often did not know them personally, and sometimes did not know of their existence. A friend of mine has put at my disposal a letter written in 1914 by one of our most prominent American historians. He worked in the field of mediaeval history and he was chairman of a committee of a scholarly society. On both counts one might have expected more than his letter reveals. Someone had suggested to him that Catholic scholars be invited to participate in his program. He answered that he knew of only two or three, Bishop Shahan and Paschal Robinson among them. Dr. James J. Walsh he dismissed as "shallow." Another name was admitted to be that of one who was "a good scholar without being a brilliant one." The standard of the last phrase is very high. We wonder what learned society ever excluded the sound majority in the interest of the brilliant minority. However that may be, the professor in question certainly had a good deal to learn in 1914 which in 1944 might have been part of the information he would have picked up in his stride. That such non-acquaintance did not operate as a real obstacle is known to all of us. The point is that to many people it *seemed* to be an obstacle.

In real fact much encouragement was given in the early years and has been given since by men of eminence in the secular field of historical knowledge and in the counsels of the American Historical Association. Among these one name stands out in personal eminence and in the claim of his memory to our gratitude. It is that of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, the director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. Dr. Jameson then, as always until his

lamented death, was of the greatest help with his advice. This advice rested on wide experience with organization matters. He had been one of the founders of the American Historical Association in 1884 and was always important in its inner councils. And the advice he gave was practical, helpful, and nobly sympathetic.

One of the most signal acts of Dr. Jameson's helpfulness was his presence at the organization meeting in Cleveland in 1919. He not only was present, but he gave a very interesting and encouraging talk. His balanced mind perceived the value of an interchange of goods for the two associations. He pointed out how the period of antagonism between Catholic and non-Catholic historians had passed away, how judicious scholarship could meet on common ground, and how the area of agreement between such men as Pastor and Creighton far exceeded the area of their disagreement. He went on with some gracious personal reminiscenses which brought out the indebtedness of all historians to a Catholic scholar like DeSmedt. He pointed out that the American Historical Association had been "founded thirty-five years ago, with a smaller number of people than are now in this parlor," and was then, in 1919, a body of twenty-five hundred or more members. "I know no reason why in less than thirty-five years the American Catholic Historical Association might not be a body of two or three thousand members. Such membership, such prosperity, depends upon the enthusiasm with which the cause of Catholic history in America is pursued, and that in turn depends upon the consciousness with which American Catholics persevere in the great work the Church is accomplishing in this regard in our country."

Dr. Jameson's words counted for a great deal that day. They may still serve as a text for meditation. In later years he described himself as having broken "over the bows of the new craft when it was launched a bottle of mildly effervescent discourse." Mild or not, it was effective. We have always looked back on Dr. Jameson as one of our founders. He became our honorary member par excellence. Then and through the years he was our guide and friend. This article would fall very short did it not give due credit to the memory of J. Franklin Jameson. It would also fall short in not mentioning that the present executive secretary of the American Historical Association, Dr. Guy Stanton

Ford, has made possible a continuance of the very agreeable and co-operative work of the two associations and that the fine tradition begun twenty-five years ago is still flourishing vigorously.

Much of the spadework for the 1920 meeting in Washington was done by Dr. Lawrence F. Flick, the first president, by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, the first secretary, and by the indefatigable Dr. Guilday. Dr. Guilday did not confine himself to formal meetings and correspondence. Many trips were made to Philadelphia and New York. Wider swings reached Cleveland, Buffalo, and Boston. The new Association was on paper and would live. It had to appear viable. And we may be sure that after all these visits and interviews it did so seem.

Not all the difficulties of attitude had been overcome. But the distinguished names now formally associated with the project carried the day with most. It is a pleasant thing in turning over the 1919-1920 correspondence to note how frequently the answers to invitations to membership strike the note of confidence in leadership of the Catholic University of America. The great triumph of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* was still vivid in all minds, and the particular renown of Bishop Shahan and of Paschal Robinson in the field of historical scholarship had prepared all our scholar Catholics at least to expect much good from Brookland. The names of great Catholic teachers in secular institutions such as Carlton Hayes, Parker T. Moon, Henry Jones Ford, and of fine, generous-minded non-Catholic scholars like Herbert E. Bolton, were further incentives. Before much of the year had run, Dr. Guilday had very good reason to hope for a successful first meeting. The hope was realized in Washington in Christmas week of 1920.

The present writer recalls the Washington meeting very clearly. It was a stimulating experience for a young teacher of history to visit the sessions of the two associations. There were many men with famous names in the older Association whom one had then the first opportunity of seeing or hearing. Somehow or other a paper by Louis Paetow, whose fine bibliographic guide was then recent, stands out in recollection. The eminent Herbert E. Bolton graced one of our own sessions with a paper on "The Value of Mexican Archives for the Study of Missionary History." It is, perhaps, uncritical to select

from a random memory, but I cannot help recall the paper on Gregory VII by Thomas Oestreich, O.S.B., of Belmont Abbey. It was a piece of beautifully balanced and finished scholarship, probably one of the finest contributions ever made to our Association. It seemed to stand out then as an example and monument of what our own Catholic scholarship could achieve. It must have inspired many a younger teacher to higher dedication to his work.

And here again we strike one of the chief values of the American Catholic Historical Association: the transmission of the torch of accomplishment to younger hands by the older. The meetings from 1920 on were attended by generous veterans. Fathers Francis S. Betten, S.J., Felix Fellner, O.S.B., Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., and others from our Catholic colleges, Drs. Hayes, Moon, Lord, Tschan from the secular colleges, distinguished professionals like Dr. James F. Kenney from the Canadian archives, or Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, all these and others gave pleasant and helpful possibilities of scholarly and social contact to younger and less-known followers. Here again we have an estimate of the value not subject to statistical proof. It is none the less an indisputable factor of high service rendered to Catholic scholarship and education by the Association through these many years.

In rereading the prognostic speeches of Cleveland and Washington in 1919 and 1920, it is easy to see that not all the great expectations of that day have been realized. Proposals were once made, for instance, for an elaborate departmental structure, ancient, mediaeval, and modern. The fact has been much simpler. Dr. Jameson foresaw two thousand members in thirty-five years. A more modest roster has sufficed. Not all the hopes were verified. But the hopes were the beginning of real achievements.

To begin with we have attained and kept a steady membership of more than five hundred members. For some years we have kept near to seven hundred and at the moment the membership stands at 729. This has meant continuity of interest and is in itself a splendid tribute to the value rendered by the Association. Both our secretaries, Monsignor Guilday and Dr. Ellis, have had a considerable burden of expense and effort. It has been lightened by the support of the membership and a realization born of experience that this support was ungrudging and could almost be said to be taken for granted.

The Association also looks back with pride on its programs of many years. The little leaflets, some of them yellow with time, are worth reading for the constellation they present of the able teachers and writers who have kept Catholic history alive in our day. The papers have been, for the most part, published in the *Catholic Historical Review.* It is a pleasure to look over them and to appreciate how well they have served in the aggregate the increase or preservation of historical knowledge.

A casual selection of topics and writers may give an idea of what interesting fields of thought our members have been invited to traverse from year to year and under what guidance.

At the 1924 meeting Dr. Flick, our first president, gave us a paper on "What America has got out of the Melting Pot from Catholics." In the same year Henry Jones Ford gave the presidential address (one of the most interesting of all perhaps) on "A Change of Climate in the Historical Outlook." In 1924 Dr. Tschan wrote on "Some Causes of the Decadence of Spain." In 1928 Dr. Guilday gave us "The Catholic Chapter in American History." In 1934, which was Maryland's centennial year, Matthew Page Andrews wrote on "The Contribution of Catholic and Protestant to Religious Liberty." In the following year the same scholar wrote on "The Separation of Church and State in Maryland." In 1938 Father Raymond Corrigan, S.J., gave us some deep considerations on "The Rise of Secularism." In 1940 Ray A. Billington wrote on "Organized Anti-Catholicism from 1830-1860." The Reverend Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., on "The Significance of the Frontier to the History of the Catholic Church in the United States" and Professor Herbert C. F. Bell's presidential address on "The Place of History in Catholic Education," are two more titles of significant subjects which have arrested our attention and helped, we may hope, in our development. Many more articles deserve mention, but such mention would involve a catalogue. Our readers will be more interested perhaps in a rough statistical summary of the coverage for about twenty years.

The chief attention of contributors for that period was devoted to American church history which had about fifty articles, and to modern European church history which had forty-six. Next came historiographical subjects or those dealing with method. Of these there are

thirty-nine. This classification includes, of course, the fine symposium of articles on church historians given at Ann Arbor in 1925, which was afterwards published in volume form. Twenty-six articles dealt with the mediaeval Church. Strangely, only about six go back to what are called ancient times. About twelve deal with various phases of church history in Latin America, most of these being comprised in the Washington symposium of 1939 of which the general topic was: "The Role of Catholic Culture in the Latin American Republics." It is significant that this class of subject needed the stimulus of a meeting specially designed for the purpose. Without that meeting the attention of our Association to Latin American affairs would have been practically nil. This is a most interesting fact. About nineteen articles, including a good many of the presidential addresses, have dealt with the philosophy or interpretation of history. About twenty-five subjects, difficult to classify, take up the remainder of our list. These articles are naturally of varying merit. Now and then they were of questionable relevance to the purpose of our group. But this was only a slight tendency. On the whole the programs present a consistent picture.

Many articles, particularly those in the field of the United States, were of highly specialized interest. Others, particularly about Europe, including the symposium of "The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe," are more general in range and interest. The subjects in the philosophy of history present a good survey of historical movement and tendency.

Let me say also (to present a personal judgment) that the papers of our Association have a claim to this originality: exemption from whatever political manias were current at the time of their production. When we look back on the sentimental enthusiasms that infected scholars equally with journalists from time to time in the interval of the wars, at the unfounded optimisms that were hailed as new forms of redemption from world-evils, we may congratulate our scholars of the American Catholic Historical Association for their balance and their calm. The future monographists who may occupy themselves with the subjects of the Locarno Treaties or the Kellogg Pacts will find rich material in illustration of the holy simplicity of scholars and professors in other sources. They will find almost none in the articles of our contributors.

On the other hand, some of our writers are not so free from another malady endemic to American scholarship. One of the strangest weaknesses of our otherwise well-trained minds is their sujection to a form of language which is fondly imagined to be English. The thing called journalese is unjustly held to be specific to journalists. And I am afraid some of our scholars of the Association are as subject to it as their brethren. In the Washington bureaus a word is coming current to describe this kind of writing in officialdom. The word is Gobbledegook. I suggest its application to much writing in the field of history. When our Association at length attains its departmental status, perhaps we shall have a committee of vigilantes for the harrying of Gobbledegook out of the realm of history.

In any case, to have brought together so many authors and so many hearers, to have held the teachers and writers of history together for so many years in a sense of their common interest, to have provided a stage on which historical scholarship would be estimated by trained observers, to have created an atmosphere where the love of fine intellectual interest might flourish and obtain the modest social reward that good scholarship seeks—to have done all this is to have an achievement to boast of. Our programs are the printed record of it all. But the living spirit is the fruit of it, and that spirit has permeated the Catholic body in the United States. Our colleges and schools have felt the influence for a quarter of a century. Certainly our people on a whole are richer in their sense of heritage for the fact that the American Catholic Historical Association has been operating in their midst.

The Association has thus provided a reason for writing which without it did not exist. Great credit must be given to those who cultivated the field before 1919, whether they worked as individuals or whether they belonged to the more localized historical groups. Notable among these groups were the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia and the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York. Their publications are still of the greatest value to us and they must have done very much in past years to make up for the loneliness of the atmosphere in which the historically-minded were obliged to work. Their work is still carried on and is still of great importance in the field of American church history. It is not an injustice to these groups to say that the American Catholic Historical Association has enlarged

the sphere of interest and has thus carried on to more mature development the work that others so courageously began. A whole school of writers in the various sections of history exists today and has a spirit of continuity, a feeling that an audience is provided for it, without which its work would certainly languish.

In this connection it is good to remember that since 1921 the *Catholic Historical Review* has been the organ of the Association. Before that date the *Review* was exclusively for writings on American church history. With its new relationship it made itself available for the papers of the Association. This, of course, has notably increased the Association's power to attract writers in our field and has enhanced its ability to carry on as an outlet for historiographic talent.

One of the purposes for which the Association exists is the publication of papers and documents. To this purpose we have made a contribution of which we can be proud. Three of the annual meetings were given over to symposia. At Ann Arbor in 1924 the papers were on church historians, and the papers were published in 1926 as Volume I of the *Papers* of the American Catholic Historical Association. Volume II consisted of papers on the Catholic Church in Continental Europe. These papers were read at Minneapolis in 1931 and the volume appeared in 1932. In 1933 at Pittsburg the symposium was on the Catholic Philosophy of History. This volume appeared in 1936. All these three volumes were edited by Dr. Guilday.

In 1933 appeared our first volume of Documents. This was *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches 1848-1868*. The collection was edited by Leo Francis Stock. Dr. Stock is a charter member of our Association, a past president, and one of our most valued counsellors. His interest has been always prompt and his help in all the work of the organization ungrudging. His first volume is a work of permanent value to historical scholarship. We are glad to say that its companion volume on Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States is already in press and will very soon be available. The two volumes of Dr. Stock will make our most solid printed accomplishment. It is the hope of the Association to continue such contributions in the years to come.

Since 1941 the Association has been under new executive leadership. The ill-health of Monsignor Guilday prevented his continuance of the

effective and strong leadership which he had given to the society since its foundation. Doubtless it was with regret on his part, certainly it was with keen regret on the part of everyone else, that this change came about. The regret was mitigated, however, by the fact that he was able to continue to give his advice and to be present at our meetings. And it will assuredly be the high light of the Chicago meeting of 1944 when the Association hears the address of one who has meant so much to it through all the years.

Another circumstance mitigating our regret is the personality of our new leader, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis. When the secretaryship was turned over by Monsignor Guilday he knew that it was turned into the best of hands. Father Ellis' sound scholarship and academic experience, his editorial ability in the *Catholic Historical Review*, his conscientiousness and persistence of effort, his wide acquaintance with academic personnel both in Catholic and non-Catholic circles, his dedication to the cause he represents combined with an admirable judiciousness and sense of balance, his high and noble concept of the role of the Association — all these qualities have commended him to the old members and to the new. Under him we have a grateful feeling of continuity of direction. *Vivat atque floreat!*

When we meet in Chicago in 1944 we can look back on twenty-five years, not only of existence, but of accomplishment. We have elicited from the state of *potentia* to that of *actus* a large number of contributions to historical writing, all of them good, many of them of permanent value. We have produced a series of publications already creditable in number and value. We have helped to reveal the latent possibilities of Catholics in the field of history. We have given them an atmosphere of welcome and of social reward. We have helped them to have an esprit de corps so necessary to the vitality of scholarship. We have provided a means of friendly and scholarly contact with representatives of secular institutions of learning. We have caused them to have a growing interest in the history of the Church and in the contribution of Catholicism to civilization in past and present. We have given oil to the lamp of truth and have encouraged its brighter burning. We have passed through twenty-five years of work and learning. Looking back on the twenty-five years, we can see that our work was good and our learning not in vain. The best of it is that

the retrospect makes us see how worthwhile it is to take up the work and the learning of future years. If in 1969 the chronicler can record an advance since 1944 equal to that which has been achieved between 1919 and the present, then the dreams of the long ago day in Cleveland will not have been dreamed in vain.

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT

Washington, D. C.

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF WILLIAM GASTON, CATHOLIC JURIST

WHILE the most important facts in the lives of the men of the law can be gleaned from their legal decisions and political actions, the student may not overlook their domestic affairs, for very often explanations for their actions are only to be found in their private lives. So it was in the case of William Gaston, North Carolina legislator and jurist, an exemplary Catholic layman, friend of bishops and priests, kindly husband and father, and southern gentleman.

The training of a pious mother and the teaching and example of the Jesuit fathers at Georgetown College laid the basis of his remarkable career. William J. Gaston was born in New Bern, North Carolina on September 19, 1778, and became one of the most famous lawyers and jurists that state ever produced.[1] His father, Alexander, was active in the patriot cause before the outbreak of the Revolution and was killed by the Tories in the midst of the war.

Dr. Alexander Gaston came to New Bern sometime before May 1, 1764.[2] He was born in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland; the Gastons trace their family back to Jean Gaston, a French Huguenot, who fled to Scotland around 1640. Jean's three sons then fled from Scotland to Ireland some twenty-five years later and established the family there. Alexander came to America as a result of ill health.

[1] For a sketch of his life cf. J. H. Schauinger, "William Gaston, Southern Statesman," *North Carolina Historical Review* (April, 1941). Cf. also J. H. Schauinger: "A Great Southern Catholic," United States Catholic Historical Society *Records and Studies* (1941), for an estimate of him by his contemporaries; and *id.*, "William Gaston and the Supreme Court of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (April, 1944), for his legal career.

[2] Craven County (N. C.) Deed Book, II, May, 1764. MS. This is the first record of Dr. Gaston's presence in North Carolina. On May 1 he bought, at the sheriff's sale, 100 acres of land on the east side of Pamlico Road, it being part of Juniper Swamp, and for this he paid two pounds. He must have been here some time before that date.

He had received his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh; then joining the British navy as a physician he was with the fleet in 1762 at the capture of Havana, but resigned his commission because of a fever caught during the campaign.

In the ten years following his arrival at New Bern he became one of the most respected citizens of the town. During this time he acquired considerable land, including a plantation along Bryce's Creek, which ran into the Trent River about two miles from town. For his land outside of town he paid not quite a thousand pounds.[3] He also owned a lot in town. With the coming of the Revolution he found his sympathies lay with his adopted country and soon became one of the leading patriots of the community. When the Committee of Safety of New Bern was formed he was a member, and on March 4, 1775, he together with Richard Cogdell, Abner Nash, and others signed a memorial to remind the citizens of the rules and regulations of Congress, pleading with them to remain firm in the cause of liberty and to implore assistance from God for the success of Congress.[4] This was a dangerous thing to do, and the loyal governor, Josiah Martin, sent the names of these signers to the home government.[5] Sometime in May, although his fortunes were now definitely linked with the rebels, the Irish physician so captivated Margaret Sharpe, a young English woman who was making a temporary visit to the colonies, that she married him.[6]

Margaret Sharpe was born in Cumberland County, England, of a devout Catholic family, and was sent to a convent in Calais, France

[3] In May, 1764, Alexander bought the above-mentioned land, and also a half acre on Craven Street in the town for seventy pounds the following December. In 1767 he bought two hundred acres for £275. In July, 1768, 166 for £108; in August for £150 over 300 acres. In 1771 he bought 460 acres. The next year he purchased 520 acres on Bryce's Creek. In February, 1775, he bought a plantation for £300 as well as a lot in town, but sold both the following month. For the former he got £310. Cf. Deed Books of Craven County, II, 437; XII-XIII, 189; XV, 296; XV, 333 and 337; XIX, 70; XX, 102; XXI, 238, 251.

[4] *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IX, 1144.

[5] "State Papers on File in the Public Rolls of England concerning Colonial North Carolina," p. 186. MS, John H. Wheeler Papers, Library of Congress.

[6] There is no record of this marriage, nor has it been possible to determine the age of Alexander then. Evidently Margaret told her son, William, that the wedding took place sometime in May, 1775.

for her education. She came to America to visit her two brothers, Joseph and Girarde, who were merchants in New Bern. At the time of her marriage Margaret was around twenty years old, having been born in 1755. The three childen of Alexander and Margaret were all born during the war; the first, a son, died as an infant, William Joseph was born in 1778, and Jane two years later.

In the days following his marriage the physician was one of the most active of the rebels in the district. In September he was appointed to the Provincial Council for New Bern. The colonial capital had been at New Bern, but Governor Martin had fled from there in June. The Committee of Safety was kept busy from the very beginning of the next year; Cogdell, John Easton, William Thompson, William Tisdale, Richard Ellis, William Brown, and Dr. Gaston served on this committee. In March, 1777, Gaston was appointed by the council as justice for Craven County, and in May he and James Davis were made judges for the District of New Bern.[7] By his activities Gaston had attracted the notice and aroused the ire of the Tories of that section, so he soon received their attention. In 1781 the British, based in Wilmington, made widespread raids through the state. When reports of their movement reached the physician he retired to his plantation, but as the alarm seemed groundless he returned home. On a Sunday, August 19, as he was eating breakfast a neighbor rushed in to report that the Redcoats were at hand. While Mrs. Gaston remained with the babies, their father hurried to the wharf to row across the river to his plantation. A band of Tories, led by the notorious Captain John Cox, came ahead of the regular troops and completely surprised the town. They galloped directly to the wharf and found the rebel patriot still within range. That night three-year old William and one-year old Jane went to bed orphans.[8] Mrs. Gaston's two brothers had already died sometime before this.

[7] *North Carolina Colonial Records*, XI, 710; XII, 109.

[8] In the Gaston MSS a document by William Gaston tells this story. In it he states that it was told him many times by his weeping mother. It was said that she hurried to the wharf when she heard the soldiers shooting. They were shooting wild, until Captain Cox took deliberate aim, and despite the pleas of Margaret, shot him dead. The New Bern *Spectator* of Dec. 19, 1834, takes to task the *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* (1834) for stating in the sketch of William Gaston that his father had left Mrs. Gaston and children on the wharf.

Margaret Gaston never ceased to mourn her husband, wearing black until her death in 1811. At the time of her husband's death she was a woman of twenty-six years, with calm, grey eyes, a beautiful face, and stately carriage. She devoted herself to the care and education of her children, and became a nurse to the indigent sailors landing at New Bern.[9]

Mrs. Gaston was determined that her son should have a good education. Therefore, when she learned that a Catholic college would be opened in Maryland, at Georgetown, on the Potomac River, she immediately decided to send him there. So, in the spring of 1791, at the age of twelve, William Gaston left New Bern for college in the company of John Devereux, an old friend of the family. As the college was not yet opened when they arrived, Devereux took the boy to Philadelphia, leaving him in charge of a Dominican priest, Francis Fleming. Gaston remained here about five months, from June to November, and lodged with a Mrs. Brewer at 74 Lumber Street. The youngster wrote his mother soon after his arrival that he had been "taking a full view" of the city, which he thought very handsome. To his eyes the streets were so similar that he felt it must be most difficult to tell them apart. Naturally knowing nothing of the city's rich pleasures, he confessed that "notwithstanding the beauty and variety that is in this place I still wish myself at home on account of the heat here; what the reason is I don't know, for even walking in the place back of the town where there are but few houses it is very hot."[10] Perhaps he was homesick. Philadelphia at this time was the seat of the national government; Congress and President Washington were there.

Father Fleming had come to Philadelphia in December, 1789, and was made pastor of St. Mary's Church. At one time he had been rector of the Irish College at Lisbon, and was an eloquent preacher and student. His sermon of March 17, 1790, printed by Matthew Carey, was the first on St. Patrick published in the United States.

[9] Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, II, 159-165. Susan Gaston Donaldson gave the author material for her sketch. However, Mrs. Gaston could not have died in 1809, as Ellet states, for she made her will in March, 1810.

[10] Gaston to his mother, June 14, 1791, Gaston MSS. Unless otherwise stated reference to the Gaston MSS means the collection at the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Bishop John Carroll made him vicar general of the northern district of the Diocese of Baltimore. When the yellow fever plague of 1793 struck Philadelphia, those who had the means fled, but Fleming remained to care for the sick and dying, and as a result himself took the fever from which he died in October.[11]

Under Father Fleming's direction Gaston began to prepare for college. He got up in the morning at six o'clock to attend Mass. After breakfast he wrote French exercises until eight o'clock, and then went to an English school until noon. While waiting for his lunch he read Latin and Greek, and afterwards returned to his English class until five o'clock. The next hour he spent in Father Fleming's library, reading whatever the priest thought proper. Three times a week he went to one of the many French schools that dotted Philadelphia, where he remained for an hour.[12] By September he was able to tell his mother that he had learned "so much of the French language as to be able to hold a conversation tolerably well."[13] Finally, on November 2, 1791, after a three-day journey by stage coach, the priest turned his young charge over to the president of Georgetown,[14] the Reverend Robert Plunkett. However, as the school was still incompleted, William lived with the president for the weeks before it opened and thus became its first student. Father Plunkett soon became very fond of the youth, attracted by his personality, manners, and mind. Plunkett wrote Mrs. Gaston several times to tell her how "Billy" was progressing and that he had gained the affection and esteem of all; he was the first of many eminent figures to prophesy that North Carolina would one day have a native bishop in the person of Gaston.[15] The other professors were Father Francis Neale, Samuel Browne, and John de Mondésir; Neale became the seventh president of Georgetown in 1810. Among the early students were Enoch and Benedict Fenwick; the latter was to attain fame as the second Bishop of Boston.

[11] Francis Neale to Gaston, Dec. 11, 1793, Gaston MSS.

[12] Gaston to his mother, Aug. 25, 1791, Gaston MSS.

[13] Same to same, Sept. 16, 1791, Gaston MSS.

[14] Fleming to Mrs. Gaston, Nov. 7, 1791, Gaston MSS.

[15] Robert Plunkett to Mrs. Gaston, June 23, 1792. Also Sept, 19, Dec. [?] 1792; Jan. 21, Feb. 12, March 6, March 30, April 24, 1793. The fond mother kept all these letters about her son, as well as many letters he wrote her about school life from Georgetown and Princeton.

The few students were soon joined by others until by June, 1792, there were forty. Gaston was the only one to board and room within the college as the rest of the boys lived in the town. The routine in general was that practiced in most colleges of the time. The boys arose at six o'clock in the morning and went to bed at half-past eight o'clock. Their courses consisted of English, Latin, Greek, French, arithmetic, elocution, geography and "use of the globe." Every day three and a half hours were set aside for recreation. In September, 1792, Gaston reported that the college had received so many new boys that the building had to be enlarged. In December of that year he caught a severe cold, and as he was unable to rid himself of it his mother feared consumption, and so she decided to bring him back to North Carolina. On April 25, 1793, after an absence of almost two years, Gaston left Georgetown for home.

He spent the next year in the New Bern Academy, which was conducted by the Reverend Thomas Irving, a Presbyterian and graduate of Princeton. At the conclusion of the mid-term examinations an oration was "delivered by Mr. Gaston on the blessings of American Independence."[16] When the academy closed in the middle of July for the vacation it was Gaston who gave the valedictory, which the *Gazette* stated was delivered with singular eloquence, on the imposing theme of "The Rising Glory of America."[17]

The next fall, through the persuasion of Irving, Mrs. Gaston determined to send her son to Princeton. Father Neale was opposed to this, so when young Will arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1794, the question was still undecided. Bishop John Carroll was brought into the discussion, and he finally gave his approval to the choice of Princeton. The myth that all southerners are gentlemen and that most northerners are "Yankee traders" was prevalent even at this early time. After Gaston arrived at Princeton and met several of his classmates he was so surprised to find this was not entirely true that he exclaimed to his mother, "I never was more agreeably disappointed in my expectations. For compliance, civility, and good breeding I've scarcely seen their equals. Their behavior, in short, quite charmed

[16] New Bern *Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1794.

[17] New Bern *Gazette*, July 12, 1794.

me." Before enrolling he came back to Philadelphia to spend the month before the college opened.

During Gaston's second sojourn in Philadelphia he naturally took the time to seek out friends made during his former stay. Among those was Rembrandt Peale, son of the famous artist, Charles Willson Peale. Rembrandt later became almost as well known as his father; at seventeen he painted a portrait of President Washington in three sittings.[18] Some two years before, Gaston had informed his mother that Rembrandt, then fifteen, had been converted to Catholicism, but that his father was bitterly opposed to this. Concerning this, Gaston said, "What he suffers from his parents and relations on that point you cannot conceive. On Friday and Saturday they would have nothing but meat . . . . and he would be obliged to have no dinner or make out with a piece of bread."[19] Some time after that Rembrandt had been able to convince his father that he was in earnest, and Mr. Peale then allowed his boy to enter a seminary to study for the priesthood. However, this did not last long and during this brief visit in Philadelphia before continuing on to Princeton, Gaston found out that Peale had left the seminary "because of an affection for a girl." Although he remained a Catholic his friends feared for his faith because of her.[20] Their fears were later realized as Peale did not remain a Catholic. At this time the girls were also beginning to attract the youth from North Carolina.

During Gaston's time the curriculum at Princeton included geography, logic, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, astronomy, belles lettres, and chemistry. He was admitted to the junior class which included several other North Carolinians. As has always been the case with college students he had to write home several times for funds. Even before his arrival he wrote that $210 was not enough in those times, but that a little more would do as he behaved with a frugality he hoped no one could doubt. Here, as at Georgetown, students were required to pay semi-annually in advance, and Gaston was forced to borrow to make up the required $59. Board cost $2.50 a week, while each student was expected to cut his own wood.[21]

[18] Congress later purchased this portrait.
[19] Gaston to his mother, Feb. 6, 1792, Gaston MSS.
[20] Same to same, Nov. 24, 1794, Gaston MSS.
[21] John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, p. 25.

Noah Webster was one of the tutors, and there were about eighty-seven students. In 1796, at the age of eighteen, Gaston was graduated at the head of his class. Among the graduates of this class were Philip Pendleton of Virginia, John Berrien of Georgia, and Frederick Beasley of Maryland. Beasley remained the life-long friend of Gaston. The latter, after his graduation, went to Philadelphia to receive the sacraments of his Church, and then turned his steps toward home. Concerning this period of his life a friend later remarked that "he remembered only one frolic in which Gaston was forced to retire to the cornfield." While in Philadelphia, after his graduation, James Peale painted his portrait. This exquisite miniature of young Gaston shows him attired in a waistcoat and a white, flowing cravat. The oval-shaped face with its delicately tinted cheeks, deep-set blue eyes (with eye-brows perfectly pointed as to seem almost molded or plucked), finely-chiseled nose, round deep chin and a firm, beautifully expressive mouth, all were framed against a mass of wavy, chestnut, powdered hair falling about and below the ears.

On his return he found the family in a new home, for which his mother had expended seven hundred pounds. The old one had been destroyed during a conflagration which had swept New Bern, and but for the quick actions of Devereux its occupants might have perished with it. Other buildings had to be rebuilt, and the town obtained a "new, neat, elegant court house." There were, at this time, between seven hundred and a thousand houses.

It was now necessary to determine what profession Gaston should follow, and it did not take long to decide that his talents best fitted him for the bar. At that time there were no law schools; students of the law studied in the offices of practicing lawyers. Gaston was fortunate in this respect, for New Bern was the home of a brilliant lawyer, François Xavier Martin.[22] For two years the youth studied under the future chief justice of Louisiana, and then on September 22, 1798,

[22] Cf. William W. Howes, "Francois X. Martin," *Great American Lawyers*, II, 411-452. Martin had been a printer, and published several legal works besides compiling a history of North Carolina. He was an ardent Democrat and warm supporter of Thomas Jefferson. In 1809 he was appointed by President Madison a federal judge of the Mississippi Territory. He became the first attorney-general of Louisiana, then a judge of the state supreme court, and finally chief justice. He practically created the jurisprudence of this state, bringing order where chaos had before existed.

was admitted to the bar.[23] He took the oath of allegiance before the clerk of the county court of Carteret, paid a tax of £10, and stepped forth from the building a lawyer, just three days after his twentieth birthday.

A short time before this event his sister, Jane, had also begun her own career as the wife of John Louis Taylor, a lawyer of Fayetteville.[24] That same year the general assembly elected him a judge of the superior court. With his elevation to the bench he became too busy to handle his extensive practice, and so he turned part of it over to his young brother-in-law.

The next five years were busy ones for the young lawyer as he began to build up his reputation as a legislator and counsel. However, he also found time for social affairs as well as romance. A former classmate, writing him in 1800 for a recommendation, asked if he had "any new flame or was with an old one." Nancy Guion, the sister of his old friend and room-mate at Princeton, tried to arouse his interest, but Gaston had his eyes fixed elsewhere. While visiting his sister at Fayetteville he met Susan Hay, daughter of John Hay, a lawyer, and niece of William Barry Grove, one of the most prominent Federalists in North Carolina. Susan was the belle of the town, beautiful, lively, and the life of the younger set. Walter Troy, a student of Dr. William Hooper, exclaimed over her to his teacher, "Oh, Sir! she is enough to melt the frigidity of a Stoic and excite rapture in the breast of a hermit."[25]

Gaston visited his sister often that summer of 1803 and found Susan waiting there for him. At the end of the summer he wrote his sister

[23] Licence, State of North Carolina, Gaston MSS.

[24] Cf. A. R. Newsome, "John Louis Taylor," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 334. No biography of Taylor exists. Jane was seventeen when she married Taylor. She was his second wife; his first, Julia Rowan, by whom he had a daughter, had died. In 1811 Taylor was elected by the judges of the superior courts as their presiding justice. In 1819, when the supreme court was formed, mostly through the efforts of William Gaston, Taylor became the first chief justice of North Carolina. He was Federalist in politics and seemed to have influenced William in this respect more than Martin did, as Gaston also became a Federalist.

[25] "Letter from Hamilton C. Jones the Elder" (Feb. 2, 1819), *North Carolina University Magazine*, XXIII (April, 1893). Jones quotes from Dr. Wm. Hooper's *Fifty Years Since*.

that this period had been the most pleasant of his life, and that he felt Susan was better calculated to render him more happy than anyone he had ever met. "Residing under the same roof with my dear Susan and enjoying her confidence I have had an opportunity of a more intimate acquaintance of her excellencies. To say that I love her more though would not be true," he concluded. Susan was sixteen and William was twenty-five when they were married at Fayetteville on September 4, 1803.[26]

The marriage seems to have taken place in the bride's home. The wedding over, the younger people rolled back the rugs in the large parlor and they danced and flirted and talked throughout the night, while the older and more sedate played cards and gossiped in other rooms. Outside the windows could be heard the soft murmur, the songs, and an occasional burst of laughter from the Negroes as they joined in the celebration. The couple took a short trip, and then returned to New Bern. Gaston began to gather the necessary material for the important Granville case and even to take in law students. The world looked bright for the young couple, but their happiness was of short duration, for on April 20, 1804, just eight months and sixteen days after the wedding, the young bride died.

Although the blow was hard, Gaston was young, and the companionship of young ladies was not unwelcome. Hence it was not surprising that a year and a half later the widower again sought the altar. His bride was a distant cousin, Hannah McClure, the daughter of General William McClure. Their friends, noticing the deepening intimacy, laughed at her for calling him "cousin." She asked Gaston what should be substituted for this, saying "what will be pleasing that your Hannah would call you?" They were married in New Bern on October 6, 1805, by Father Simon Felix Gallagher. The bride was nineteen, the groom twenty-seven.

This marriage was the occasion of an amusing mix-up, although it must not have seemed too entertaining to Gaston. There being no resident priest in North Carolina to solemnize the marriage he wrote his old friend, Bishop Carroll, for guidance. The bishop directed him to Father Gallagher of Charleston, South Carolina. Then the bishop

[26] *Raleigh Register*, Sept. 19, 1803.

found that another priest was traveling through North Carolina, and this man wrote Gaston that he would be glad to serve him. Gaston then found he had on his hands two priests for the occasion, so he had to write both, requesting the attendance of the one who could with less inconvenience leave Charleston early in October.[27]

Hannah McClure was described by one of her contemporaries as a "woman of superior understanding whose disposition was frank and generous, with manners bland and unaffected; although possessing an open and engaging countenance her features singlely could not be called beautiful." Red hair, big brown eyes, well-shaped nose, generous lips, a firm chin made up these features. This same person asserted that Hannah's secret charm and cordial expression of truth and sincerity with an added genial grace endeared her to all in New Bern. Her chief virtue seemed to be a practice of extensive charity.[28]

By this time Gaston was well established. In the April following his marriage he bought his wife a piano, paying $310 for it. A few days before this he had purchased two lots on Craven Street in New Bern, paying £912 for one and £250 for the other.[29] In 1817 he sold the latter lot which was at Front and Craven Streets, for $2325.[30] Between this time and the outbreak of the War of 1812 he bought 320 acres on Bryce's Creek for $1000, two lots in town and some other lots outside it for about $5000.[31]

Meanwhile there was also a growth in his family. The first child, a son, was born to the couple January 19, 1807, and named Alexander. A daughter, Susan, was born June 4, 1808, and Hannah arrived March 18, 1811.

Gaston was elected to the Thirteenth Congress, which met in May, 1813, in special session to consider the problems raised by the recent declaration of war against Great Britain. Before its adjournment on August 2, 1813, urgent necessity called him home. The British had carried the war into North Carolina, and on July 13 rumor reached

[27] Gaston to Bishop John Carroll, Oct. 25, 1805, Baltimore Cathedral Archives, 3y2. Hereafter these archives will be referred to as: BCA.

[28] *Raleigh Register*, July 13, 1813.

[29] Deed Book of Craven County, XXXVI, 795 and 803.

[30] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 749.

[31] *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 919; XXXVIII, 217, 284, 285, 300, 301, 389.

New Bern that the British were once more marching on the town. Hannah was visiting neighbors, the Dunns, when the news reached her, "communicated in an improper manner," and she immediately hurried home. She became more and more nervous and around eight o'clock in the evening was seized with violent convulsions. The family physician, Dr. Custis, was called, but the convulsions could not be stopped. At three o'clock in the morning she died, taking with her the unborn child whose advent she had so dreaded. John Donnell took the three children to Gaston's sister in Raleigh.[32] That same day Gaston was speaking in Congress on the necessity of having a fixed date to hear the report on foreign relations. Before the end of the month Gaston was in Raleigh, from which he soon returned sadly to his own home, there to remain until the next session of Congress that winter. The British had actually never reached New Bern.

Gaston returned to Washington for the winter session of 1813-1814, and then again for the special session which came to an end on March 3, 1815. He was re-elected to the Fourteenth Congress, which opened its proceedings on December 5, 1815. During this session society began to have more attractions for the handsome widower. With less to do in Crongress, he had more time for parties, balls, and boat rides. Friends began to notice his preference for the company of one of the daughters of Dr. Charles Worthington.

> It is to your goodness, Miss Worthington, I throw myself for forgiveness in presuming thus to address you. In vain have I sought a fit occasion for personally communicating to you the holy secret of my soul. In society only have I the happiness to meet you and then I *dare* not even by a look intimate the emotion . . . . which it is a torture to suppress. . . . I flatter myself this declaration will not be a shock . . . . others have perceived it . . . . can it have escaped you . . . . that I hang with delight upon your conversation . . . . I thought it a feeling that could no longer animate a heart which has been accustomed to glow with the warmest affection, but which calamity has rendered torpid. If hope is illusory . . . . a simple blank return . . . .[33]

Gaston had enclosed in Eliza's letter one to her father, Dr. Charles Worthington, asking permission to speak to his daughter. The next

[32] Peter Custis to Gaston, July 16, 1813; John Donnell to same, July 13, 1813, Gaston MSS.

[33] Gaston to Eliza Ann Worthington, April 4, 1816, Gaston MSS.

day he received an answer from the physician telling him to call, and that he would be received "in a manner you are entitled to from the preference by which you have distinguished my daughter." Within the month the question was settled and he became a daily visitor at the Worthington home in Georgetown.

A few days after his avowal to Eliza the first session of the Fourteenth Congress adjourned. Gaston remained in Washington for about three weeks, then left for Raleigh where he had several cases to handle. Hannah had been dead for three years, and during this time the children lived with his sister in Raleigh. The thirty-eight year old widower started a steady stream of letters back to his fiancee. These tell of his activity of the moment and of past events. The first was written from Richmond. After telling her about the society there and a few minor incidents in which he had a part, he said, "There are a thousand things I'd like to tell you if I were near you, but cannot in writing speak to you . . . . as when seated in the corner of our favorite sofa when any and everything possesses charm. You may be sure that eight o'clock was never forgotten, but I can scarcely say that the remembrance of you was more intimately connected with that than any other hour. The living day was an eight o'clock."[34] Eight o'clock must have had a very special significance to the two, for a reference to that time constantly occurs in their letters.

A week after writing this letter, May 5, 1816, he was in Raleigh, where he arrived weak with a fever. The country through which he had passed was parched with the drought and the dust was thick almost to suffocation. His daughters saw him in the distance, and their screams of delight brought Judge Taylor and his wife running to the road. Gaston remained in the capital long enough to attend the session of the court and then went on to New Bern, where he received his first letter from Eliza. Warning him not to write when he felt unwell, she continued,

> I dreamed of you as pale and languid and couldn't sleep. For the sake of those who love you so *dearly* take care of yourself. . . . Don't you think it was indiscreet to travel sixty miles when sick. . . . I was flattered you did stop on account of me. . . . As "interested" is a favorite word of yours I'll use it. When you were here I thought I could not

[34] Same to same, May 5, 1816, Gaston MSS.

> freely write to you, but now I have to hold myself back. . . . Remember your tremulous accents on the evening of your departure and "remember eight" . . . . a new and delightful sentiment is now in my heart, which is so much your own.[35]

On that same day Gaston wrote her to "congratulate Miss ———— on her marriage this spring, which is a good season to marry in but her best friend seems to like the fall of the leaf . . . . in May is the season nature invites as you would know had you listened as I did to the mocking birds here. . . . ."

While he was in North Carolina Eliza was vacationing at Annapolis with a party of girl friends, whose charms were so alluring that Eliza confessed she would not introduce him to them until he was hers. There, even among the gaiety of the Maryland capital she thought of him, stealing away from the party below to write him. "I cannot be happy from your side. Never till now did I know how much I loved. There are fifteen of us here. Tonight there will be a large party of all the belles and beaus of Annapolis." Toward the end of June while at a dance at the governor's mansion she slipped away from the floor, and in high glee related, "The girls think I am writing Papa and don't know what an interesting occupation I am engaged in."

After a hard day at court Gaston relaxed in the evening at the Taylor's, where he played and talked with his children, telling them of Eliza, to whom he described their reactions at some length. He warned her not to think "because I speak of Susan more she is my favorite. . . . . Hannah is intelligent, affectionate, and unaffected, and bears a striking resemblance to her mother, but Susan's age and reason . . . ." He spent a great deal of time between Raleigh and New Bern. Once he heard that his sister was very ill, so he hurried from New Bern to Raleigh in twenty-four hours, boasting to Eliza that this was "probably the shortest time it was ever done."

It seems that a certain Major Lewis figured prominently in their love affair. His name was often mentioned by both. Asking about him Gaston became reminiscent,

> He has been uneasy for us for two years as he knew my anti-matrimonial stand and saw how we were becoming attached. I wish he would settle down. . . . Do you remember the evening at Mrs. Tayeves . . . . of the chess party the next night and of *the night after,* of the

[35] Eliza Worthington to Gaston, May 19, 1816, Gaston MSS.

> meeting at Mr. Carrol's . . . . of the Birth-Night Assembly . . . . of the steam boat party and the gaiety . . . . Mr. Mill's hints and Mrs. Lee's stronger ones . . . . how Matilda Chase noticed the interest of each others society we ourselves scarcely noticed.

A charming letter of June 21, 1816, from Eliza deserves some quotation. It was headed Summer Hill and read, in part:

> To hear the voice of love whispering peace and comfort to the heart when it is oppressed and dissatisfied with itself is indeed happiness of such exquisite nature that language cannot do it justice. . . . What a valuable and blessed privilege it is that two hearts should be so united as to admit of such a delightful intercourse. . . . Letters have drawn us nearer each other. . . . I wish I could feel worthy of such devoted love. . . . The clock is striking midnight. . . .

From Germantown Eliza informed him that she would have four bridesmaids, so he would have to make arrangements for two more attendants. She suggested her brother, Dr. Nicholas Worthington, and Lieutenant Rodgers, who "was almost an agent of the affair in the beginning." Major Lewis and a Mr. Lee were to be the other two. The wedding was to take place in the Worthington home, with only intimate friends present. Gaston left North Carolina late in August, and on Tuesday evening, September 3, 1816, the two were married by Father John Grassi, president of Georgetown College.[36] If arrangements previously entered into were followed, the couple then left Washington for New Bern the middle of the month, arriving there about ten days later.

When the second session of Congress convened Gaston brought the entire family back with him, and they lived during this time at his father-in-law's in Georgetown. Before the close of the session he had to return to Raleigh, but left them behind. Eliza took the children's education into her own hands. All rose at six, and from nine to eleven o'clock she taught them; Susan practiced with her music lessons for an hour, and in the evening they rode either for a visit or simply for exercise. On September 27, 1817, their first child, whom they named Eliza, was born in the Worthington home. In early November, accompanied by her brother, Nicholas, Eliza set out with the children for New Bern, Gaston meeting them in Richmond.

In the little town of his birth the third wife of the congressman found a warm welcome. Gaston's financial status was in such a good

[36] *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 5, 1816.

state that he could afford to buy a fine home for his bride. April 17, 1818, for $6000 he purchased from J. Groenendyke the beautiful colonial home, built around 1767, located on Craven and New Streets, with the lot 121 feet by 142 feet. The double veranda had a delicate railing, cunningly wrought, considered by many to be superior to that of the famous Stanly home. The boards of the outside of the house were evidently taken from only the hearts of large trees, for they were that wide. The spacious rooms of the house were beautifully paneled.

That summer Eliza returned to Washington for a visit. In the late fall she was back in New Bern, from where she wrote her husband, who was at the state capital, that "the change in the weather has produced acidity again, which plagues me not a little, but I live upon magnesia which I find is the only remedy. I am too important a personage now to neglect anything that will keep me in tolerable health. You know the all important period is a month later and I am so apprehensive."[37] January 6, 1819, Catherine Jane was born in the Gaston home. After the event anxiety was high as Eliza did not recover as she should; thirteen days later her apprehensions were realized, for despite frantic efforts of their physician she quietly slipped into a lasting sleep. She was buried from Christ Church, the Reverend Richard S. Mason, Episcopalian minister, officiating at the funeral.[38] The latter had also baptized her child, Nicholas Worthington, Jane Taylor and Susan being sponsors.[39] The blow was almost more than her husband could face, until he sought comfort in his religion. At forty-one he was widowed for the third time.[40]

[37] Eliza to Gaston, Dec. 3, 1818, Gaston MSS.

[38] Register of Baptisms, Burials, and Marriages, Christ's Church, New Bern, N. C., p. 75.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[40] May 23, 1814 Gaston wrote the Archbishop of Baltimore for advice concerning a possible religious impediment to a marriage he was contemplating, which depended "on the probability that the individual with whom I might be disposed to form a union would not merely make a virtuous and agreeable helpmate, but also a faithful and affectionate mother to my bereaved children. To one individual my mind has been very forcibily directed as a person peculiarly fitted to secure both these objects. In infancy she was the playmate, and in more mature life has been the companion and bosom friend of my late inestimable wife. . . Her childhood was passed under the pious care of my venerable Mother, by whom at the request of a dying Father she was educated a Catholic . . . I seriously looked forward to a declaration of my wishes when an obstacle suddenly presented itself which I had never anticipated." Gaston then asked the archbishop if the impediment was too serious for removal or if it existed at all. It seemed that the lady was god-mother of one of his children, which was the difficulty in question. The archbishop's answer is unknown, but Gaston thought better of taking the step. A few months later he told John Burghwin that he had thought for a while of doing this because of his children, but doubted the risk. BCA, 3Y4.

At this time Alexander was twelve, Susan eleven, Hannah eight, Eliza Ann not yet two, and Catherine but a baby of two weeks. Gaston sent the two oldest girls to school at St. Joseph's in Emmitsburg, Maryland, Alexander to Mount Saint Mary's, Emmitsburg, and the babies were taken to his father-in-law's home in Georgetown. From this time dated Gaston's dependence upon his favorite child, Susan. His letters to her and the others are characteristic of the man. Not long after their departure for school, from the lonely home in New Bern, he wrote his eldest daughter,

> Remember, my dear Susan, that I look to you as my great and efficient coadjutor in the instruction of your sisters. You are charged not only with your welfare but theirs. . . . I go where human comforts can only reach me through news of my children's well doing. Let me have this consolation. Let my solicitude and toils be cheered by learning that my darling daughters are running the race of virtue and knowledge and are growing daily in grace and favor with God and man. Guard against melancholy which is a foe to mental vigor and bodily health and is a species of treason against the divine law.[41]

Gaston kept them in this school of the renowned and virtuous Mother Seton until 1822, at which time the two were separated. In August he visited Philadelphia to make arrangements for Susan's further education, while Hannah remained at St. Joseph's. Before his visit Gaston had written Joseph Hopkinson, telling him of this project and asking his aid. Hopkinson, son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, author of *Hail Columbia,* one of the foremost lawyers of his time, had been in Congress with Gaston, and the two soon formed a close friendship. Writing about Susan he further said,

> I had designed visiting Washington during the session of the Supreme Court and promised myself much pleasure from meeting with you there. But this promise like many other more important schemes in which I have been accustomed to indulge my fancy was but the harbinger of disappointment. A special criminal court called at this place about the end of January compelled me to forego the gratification of seeing my children and talking with all my friends. In the number of *these* I need not say that you are included. To use the homely but expressive phrase of my country 'I took to you mightily from the first.' You may be assured that I shall not pass through any place you are without giving you a call.[42]

[41] Gaston to Susan, March 21, Feb. 28, 1820, Gaston MSS.

[42] Gaston to Joseph Hopkinson, March 22, 1822, Hopkinson Collection, Pennsylvania State Historical Society, Philadelphia.

Susan was received with love and kindness on her visits to the Hopkinson home during her schooling at Philadelphia. Gaston was delighted that his fifteen-year old daughter had found a place in their hearts, telling them "dear to me is my blue-eyed Susan." January 4, 1823, in answer to Hopkinson's query he stated,

> I thank you for your friendly letter of December 16th, which I yesterday received at Raleigh. The kind things you say of my child come home to my heart and favorably as I have always thought of your judgment I now set it up as unerring. You must take care therefore not to ask anything from me about her which you are not confident that it will be proper to grant. That she should occasionally and without [—] mingle in your family circle would afford me high gratification. But I believe it would be better that she should not frequently have this enjoyment. When a girl sees much society her mind is liable to become dissipated—serious studies are regarded as irksome and she is too apt to fancy herself a woman. My dear daughter has years yet in which I wish her to be considered and to consider herself a child. As to the Theatre—I could not refuse her permission, if she asked it, to see a play or two in the course of the season, but I could be quite as well pleased that she did not ask it. Such amusements can add nothing to her happiness and may give her an early fancy for dress, vanity, etc. I am engaged here in attendance on our supreme court and will probably be here detained throughout the months. Whether I can visit Philadelphia before next summer is as yet uncertain. Few things would give me greater enjoyment than to spend two or three weeks there. To see my child every day and to mingle familiarly with the delightful society of your city, with the learned and the gay and the polite, is among the highest gratifications which my fancy can conceive.[43]

He was troubled over the expense of his daughters' education, which he considered excessive. Entries upon his accounts, such as $230 for Alexander, $270 for Hannah, $300 for Susan, $500 for Hannah, were frequent. Concerning this worry, early in 1823, he confided to Hopkinson:

> The charges attending my daughter's education are indeed inconveniently high—more especially when I am solicitously engaged in paying off debts which a neglected profession, a mismanaged estate and confidence rashly bestowed caused to grow during my public career. I grudge them not—if they are necessary. Any plan which you or Mrs. Hopkinson will have the goodness to suggest by which

[43] Same to same, Jan. 4, 1823, Hopkinson Collection.

they may be lessened will be gladly received. As I can not expect to see you earlier than July or August I would ask the favor of you not to postpone writing. If the excessive discount on state paper could be prevented it would be something.

Then, turning to the subject of his daughter's welfare, he continued, "I rejoice to hear that Susan is well. Should you discover anything relating to her which you deem not exactly as it should be, in mind, manners, habit, fear not to let me know. My parental partiality deceives me much if she have not the *material* out of which an amiable woman may be educed. Skill and care in management are necessary—perhaps in regard to her, particularly necessary."

However, this expense became so burdensome that later in the year he asked Archbishop Maréchal for advice about schools in Baltimore. He told the archbishop he would like to have the two girls together so that the younger might by her sister's example correct an indolence of disposition, but the exorbitant price at Mrs. Ligaine's school in Philadelphia, where Susan was placed, prevented the attendance of both there. [44] The advice of Roger B. Taney was also sought, but no satisfactory solution was found, so the twelve-year-old Hannah remained at Emmitsburg.[45]

After Susan's vacation that summer, in New Bern, Gaston was particularly anxious that she receive the best of care, for as he told his friend in Philadelphia,

> The coming year is of vast importance to Susan. It will be the last which she spends in school. Intent as she is on improvement she needs nothing but fit instructors and a proper plan of studies. Removed as I am from her I cannot enter into the details of her education. I ask it of your friendship from time to time to enquire into them—to ascertain what are the studies to which her attention is directed, whether she has the proper facilities, books, maps, etc., for prosecuting them, whether her teachers are of the best sort and use due diligence in instructing, and to direct such changes and give orders for such help as a father on the spot would deem himself authorized to make. Occasional inquiries about her health I beg may not be neglected.
>
> I will not apologize for thus troubling you for were I near one of your children and you far distant I should be vexed at the doubt which

[44] Gaston to Archbishop Maréchal, Aug. 12, 1823, BCA, 17C2.

[45] R. B. Taney to Gaston, Aug. 7, 1823, Gaston MSS.

an apology for charging me with its welfare would imply. Alexander goes home in two months and spends the winter with me. He is wonderfully grown. . . . If I can succeed in converting a passion for military glory into an ambition for forensic distinction I hope to make something of him.[46]

Another problem soon was placed before the anxious parent by his friend, and his reply was probably not unexpected, but rather characteristic:

I had the pleasure a few days since of receiving your kind letter. The interest you have the goodness to take in the welfare and improvement of my daughter is such I had expected from your friendship. I long to hear of your visits to her and of your opinion in regard to her progress. No change can be made which will diminish the expense of her education and as these are to continue but one year more I will submit to their extravagance without repining. No doubt you have in Philadelphia libraries of all sorts to which access may be had for a small charge. I wish Susan to have an opportunity of reading the best works of Bourdalane, Massillon, and Bossuet in the original and have recommended them to her for her Sunday reading. Will you be good enough to put her in the way of procuring them? With a good voice she has an almost invincible repugnance to singing in company. As you may have the means be kind enough to use them for conquering this diffidence. You will see how freely I avail myself of your permission to trouble you with her concerns.

On the subject of Susan seeing company I have a difficulty in forming a definite opinion. I am well aware that many advantages may be derived from it which she needs. Were I with her so as to be able to check at once any excess which an association with the fashionable and gay might threaten I would delight to bring her more into society. But as this cannot be, and as the main object of her stay in Philadelphia is the cultivation of her mind I fear to hazard this by exposing her to the dissipation of amusements.[47]

At the end of the summer of 1824 Susan's school days were over, and she came home to become the mistress of the Gaston house in New Bern. For the next three years she retained this position until she found romance in the person of Robert Donaldson, a young Scotch merchant from New York City, who had financial interests in North Carolina. In giving his permission to the match Gaston told Donaldson, "I have confidence in the judgment of my daughter and cheerfully

[46] Gaston to Hopkinson, Aug. 26, 1823, Hopkinson Collection.

[47] Same to same, Sept. 21, 1823, Hopkinson Collection.

give my approbation. She is a gift the value of which none can know as well as I. Long has she been my pride, joy, and solace."[48] They were married in Gaston's home on February 14, 1828, by Bishop John England.[49] The twenty-year old girl and her husband during the winter lived at Fayetteville, and in summer at his home in New York on the Hudson River, near that of Chancellor Kent.

Hannah finished her education at a private school in Baltimore, and then returned to take Susan's place in the household, until her marriage to Mathias E. Manly, which took place on February 16, 1832, in the Gaston home; the ceremony being performed by Father Richard S. Baker.[50] Manly was a young lawyer, well liked by his father-in-law, who held his legal talents in high respect. After Gaston's death Manly served on the bench of the state supreme court. A year before Hannah's marriage, Alexander had been married in Christ's Church by the Reverend J. R. Goodman to Eliza Jones, the daughter of Dr. Hugh Jones.[51] In the meanwhile Eliza and Catherine were attending school at the Georgetown Visitation Convent, where their bill for a year amounted to over $1000.

After his appointment to the state supreme court Gaston had much more leisure time, so he used to go to New York each fall to visit Susan. While there he would spend long evenings with Chancellor Kent, and if possible would go farther north to visit other old friends. Story and Tichnor asked to be given "the earliest notice of your arrival in Boston," and a friend from North Carolina informed him that "Jeremiah Mason's beautiful daughter tells me that he frequently speaks of you as one of his favorite friends."[52]

With the marriage of his three eldest children Gaston now devoted most of his parental efforts to the two youngest, who were with him. When Manly had became involved in a political contest with a friend of the Gastons, the judge expressed relief that the latter had withdrawn and he warned his daughters not even to allude to it as "nothing is more

[48] Gaston to Robert Donaldson, June 2, 1827, Gaston MSS.

[49] Records of the Roman Catholic Church, New Bern, N. C.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1832.

[51] Register . . . Christ's Church, p. 134.

[52] J. S. Jones to Gaston, Nov. 8, 1833, Gaston MSS.

unfeminine as to take part in any political strife." Governor David L. Swain often visited Gaston and the girls.

The three spent much of their time on the plantation, going there at least a day or two every week, especially so after the death of Hannah, who died on March 16, 1835, leaving a daughter, Jane Manly. The week following this the three spent in the country; rising every morning with the sun, they breakfasted at seven, and then rode horseback over the fields and hills till noon. Every afternoon they took a long walk, and tired out with their long day, they retired at nine o'clock. For some time Gaston had his son, Alexander, running his plantation at Bryce's Creek. His cotton often was shipped to Donaldson for disposal. Although Gaston was very proud of his rural standing, he was not much of a farmer, as an incident related of him by an old farmer indicates. It seems that Gaston took a neighborhood planter out to his plantation to view the work, and proudly pointed out how neatly the irrigation ditches were laid out. The farmer chuckled and to Gaston's chagrin demonstrated that although they looked very nice they were impractical as they ran in the wrong direction. Another amusing incident, often related by himself, occurred when he was riding in his gig past a schoolhouse and stopped at the sight of a small boy by the road; Gaston spelled out loud, BA, ba, KER, ker, BAKER, to which the boy immediately replied, DAM, dam, FOOL, fool, DAM FOOL.[53]

The joy and delight he experienced in his children was well expressed by him to his old friend, Dr. Beasley, "I rejoice to learn you are so blessed in your children. An old man, surrounded by affectionate children whom he has trained up to virtue and usefulness, and by whom he is regarded with gratitude and reverence is to me one of the most interesting objects in the world."

The name of Gaston is inextricably bound up with the Catholic Church in the state of North Carolina, and especially so in New Bern. The earliest known Catholics to be located there were the English merchants, Margaret Sharpe's brothers, who is 1774 lived in New Bern. There was no priest in the state at the time, and it is unknown what official presided at the marriage of Margaret and Alexander.

[53] I am indebted for these incidents to the Honorable R. A. Nunn of New Bern. An old farmer, whose father knew Gaston, related the incident to him. Cf. *Gaston Republican*, Gastonia, N. C., for June 14, 1917.

The first priest to visit New Bern, and possibly the entire state, was Patrick Cleary, an Irishman, who had been a canon of the church of Funehal, and came to the town around 1784 to claim the property of his dead brother. Mrs. Gaston arranged one of the rooms of her house for a chapel where he celebrated Mass, which was attended by three or four other Catholics, including John Devereux. Father Cleary baptized a few children and performed other religious duties, but was in no position to give instructions as he spoke English with difficulty. He had not intended to remain long at this place, but the litigation over the property was so involved and extended over such a long period that the poor man was fated never again to leave New Bern. He died some time in 1790 and was buried in the cemetery of Christ's Church, where his grave may still be seen. As far as is known he was the first priest to be buried in the state and up to 1825 seemed to be the only one. For some time after his death the few Catholics there were without the ministrations of a priest, but Mrs. Gaston instructed her children in the doctrines of the Church and taught them their prayers.

When her son became a student of Georgetown College he soon came into contact with Bishop Carroll and told him of the situation in North Carolina. The bishop wished to send a priest into the state, but said he had none for the purpose.[54] When the lad was forced to leave the college his mother advised the president of the situation, and at the same time asked him to inform the bishop that if the latter would send a missionary into the state she would take care of part of the expenses involved.[55] However, nothing could be done by Bishop Carroll, for he simply did not have the priests.

In 1798 another Irish clergyman, a certain Father Burke, came to New Bern from Norfolk, remaining but a short time. Some years later Father Gallagher came there to witness the wedding of William to Hannah McClure. In July, 1807, and June, 1808, Father Michael Lacy of Norfolk spent a few days in the town, attending to the spiritual needs of the few Catholics. Late in 1811, Margaret Gaston, William's mother, who had done more for the Church than any other person in the state, died and was buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

[54] Gaston to his mother, Nov. 24, 1792, Gaston MSS.

[55] Rev. F. Neale to Margaret Gaston, Oct. 18, 1793, Gaston MSS.

Bishop Carroll had not forgotten the few Catholics of North Carolina and he told Gaston that he hoped to have a priest there some time. However, in replying to the bishop's letter of consolation over the death of his mother, Gaston informed him that he intended to visit the North that summer to choose a new home, which might be in Baltimore. Of this decision he said, "Tender and strong are the ties which bind me to my native state, but considerations of a paramount nature require of me to break them. I have a family of lovely and promising children, and I am above all things solicitious that they be reared in some place where a regular and stated observance of all the ordinances of the Church may keep alive and reimpress on their minds a sense of religious duty."[56] However, that summer war broke out with England; Gaston entered politics actively and was soon representing his state in Congress. The following year his wife, Hannah, died and the children went to live with his sister for a time. Gaston did not again seriously consider leaving the state, although Joseph Hopkinson tried to persuade him to move to Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Carroll was not able to find a priest for the state, so that for several more years the people never saw one. Then, again from Norfolk, in 1819 and 1820, New Bern was visited by a priest who stayed a few days, the Reverend Nicholas Kearney. The latter year he remained a fortnight, preached several times, baptized a number of children, and received three converts into the Church.[57] After Father Kearney's first visit Gaston wrote to Archbishop Maréchal, requesting that a priest be sent to Washington, North Carolina. He told the archbishop that the priest's expenses would be paid by "Mr. Hanrahan and Mr. Leroy [of Washington], who will also furnish board, servants and horses. I will do the same at New Bern and he can stay at my house. I am solicitious for others of the Church who cannot have the same facilities and who long for an opportunity for practicing the duties of their religion."[58] Gaston had already placed his children in Catholic schools in the North as his last wife, Eliza Ann, had died in January, 1819. Although Maréchal could not accede

[56] Gaston to Archbishop Carroll, Jan. 30, 1812, BCA, 3Y3.

[57] *United States Catholic Miscellany*, March 17, 1824.

[58] Gaston to Archbishop Maréchal, Aug. 20, 1819, BCA, 17C1.

to his request, it was not long before the state received the attention it desired in the person of Bishop John England of Charleston.

John England was born in 1786 at Cork, Ireland, and was ordained a priest in 1809. He was consecrated as first Bishop of Charleston on September 21, 1820, and refused to take the customary oath of allegiance to England, announcing his intention to become an American citizen. He arrived in Charleston December 30, 1820, to find that his diocese covered the States of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. Ten days after his arrival in the new diocese he wrote to Gaston for information on the state of religion in North Carolina. He told Gaston he had heard of his zeal for religion and counted on his aid.[59] The following May he informed Gaston of his approaching arrival in New Bern, and asked him to make proper arrangements for his preaching.[60] May 24, 1821, the first bishop to visit New Bern was welcomed at the Gaston home. Here, in the large ballroom in the front of the house, the bishop celebrated Mass. He remained in town until June 4, administering the sacraments, and at night preaching in the court house "always to a very large and respectable congregation." Before leaving the bishop appointed five of the principal Catholics to conduct services every Sunday at the little chapel in Gaston's home. The need of a church building was discussed, and a treasury was created to receive funds for the purpose; Gaston contributed $700; John Devereux $500; Peter Burghman $400; Francis Lamott $200, and Benjamin Good $200. Later a lot 106 feet by 199 feet was purchased from Richard L. Mason for $1500.[61] The bishop returned for a short visit the next November.

His first appointment of a priest for the state, the Reverend Anthony O'Hannon, arrived in New Bern in May, 1822, but he remained scarcely two weeks because of poor health. The following year Bishop

[59] Bishop England to Gaston, Jan. 9, 1821, Gaston MSS. There are numerous references to Gaston and the history of the Catholic Church in North Carolina in Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John England*, 2 Vols., (New York, 1927), as well as in *The Works of John England*, 7 Vols., edited by Sebastian G. Messmer (Cleveland, 1908).

[60] Bishop England to Gaston, May 17, 1821, American Catholic Historical Society *Records and Studies*, XVIII, 367. Hereafter referred to as: ACHS *Records*.

[61] Records of St. Paul's Church, New Bern, N. C.

England came back and at this time preached in the Presbyterian church, which was placed at his disposal. By this time the bishop had become a popular man in New Bern, not only because of his friendship with William Gaston, but also through his own radiating personality. During his visit there in February, 1824, he published a constitution for the Church in North Carolina, "with some few amendments suggested by the Honorable William Gaston."[62] St. Paul the Apostle was named the patron of the diocese. Gaston and Benjamin Good were appointed church wardens, and these two with Peter Brughman and Francis Lamott were made vestrymen.[63] By summer a priest, Father Francis O'Donoghue, was appointed to North Carolina. He was followed in 1833 by Father Peter Whelan, in 1834 by Father Richard S. Baker, in 1835 by Father John Fielding, in 1839 by Father Andrew Doyle, and in 1841 by Father Edward Quigley. In 1832 Bishop England figured there were 500 Catholics in North Carolina. He had difficulty in getting priests to remain in New Bern, for, as they told him, they received nothing there in support except what Gaston and Manly contributed. In 1838 there were two priests in the eastern section of the state, but difficulty was experienced in raising funds for their subsistence. Gaston wrote to the Catholics of Washington, North Carolina, asking them to help provide for the traveling expenses of the priests. He told them that the Catholics of New Bern had already adopted such a plan. "It will be disgraceful to us if we cannot in this way insure $500 to $600 for the two. $100 will be contributed from here and I will answer for $100 or $150, if needed . . . . ," he concluded.[64]

In June, 1839, a resolution was adopted by the Catholics of New Bern to build a church, and on October 28, 1839, at a meeting in Gaston's office a plan for a church costing $4000 was submitted by William H. Burghman. It was found there was a balance of $500 remaining in the treasury; Gaston then pledged $500, Mathias Manly $500, and Bishop England $500 toward the new church. One of the town's residents, a Dr. Hays, who was a Protestant, had been inter-

[62] *Carolina Sentinel*, March 6, 1824.

[63] Records of St. Paul's Church, Feb. 15, 1824.

[64] Gaston to Benj. Laverrder, Jan. 22, 1838, Raleigh Diocesean Archives, Bishop's Residence, Raleigh, N. C.

ested in the struggle of the Catholics, and left them in his will an estate valued at $1100. A contract was drawn up between Gaston and Hardy Lanes to build the church for $3784.34 and work was started on it in 1840. England told Gaston that "we will do nothing without you, we will do everything with you." The following year it was finished, but it was not blessed until 1844 by England's successor, Bishop Reynolds.

Bishop England was a man of extraordinary ability, courage and accomplishments. In 1822 he founded the first distinctively Catholic newspaper in the United States, the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, and also found time to prepare a new edition of the missal in English. In 1823 Eastern Florida was added to his administration. Chancellor James Kent felt that he had revived classical learning in South Carolina. Four times he went to Europe to collect funds for his impoverished diocese. He was asked to speak before Congress in 1826, which was the first time a Catholic priest was so honored. After this event he talked to President John Quincy Adams, who expressed great surprise that Gaston was a Catholic church warden.[65]

England found in Gaston a firm friend and helpful worker. After establishing the *Miscellany* he was constantly writing Gaston for aid in the venture, asking for both funds and new subscribers. He also asked him to "translate some select edifying passage from some of those good books of which you are so fond . . . . or . . . . write something in the shape of a letter or of a paragraph or of a dissertation . . . . you will greatly relieve my editorial labors." He told him that he wished a candid opinion upon the paper and what improvement was necessary. Gaston's answer must have been frank, for later England hoped that he was better pleased with the paper than before.[66] In 1826 England needed $1000 for the printing office, and again turned to his friend in North Carolina, remarking "I do not know whether you ought to be asked to add to your former loan under a better prospect of repayment, but if you could, any aid would be highly useful."[67]

Gaston's legal advice was often sought by Bishop England. Others also leaned on his legal knowledge and he was drawn slightly into the

[65] England to Gaston, Jan. 29, 1826, ACHS *Records*, XIX, 104.

[66] Same to same, Oct. 13, 1824, ACHS *Records*, XIX, 101.

[67] Same to same, Feb. 21, 1826, ACHS *Records*, XIX, 106.

trustee trouble at St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia.[68] In the Harrold case Bishop England turned to him.[69] As early as 1823 Bishop England had asked Gaston if he could not procure a change in the thirty-second article of the state constitution of North Carolina, which seemed to disbar Catholics from holding office. Without Gaston's aid the priests who came to New Bern could not have been supported, nor could the church have been built. Bishop England baptized Gaston's grandchildren and his son-in-law, Manly, and married Susan to Robert Donaldson. He often expressed to Gaston his love for him and his children, and the two remained firm friends until England's death in 1842.

Another bishop whose love for Gaston was as strong as that of England's was the first Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, Simon Bruté de Remur. Father Bruté had been introduced to Gaston by Father Grassi at Georgetown College when the North Carolinian was in Congress. Between 1821 and 1836 Bruté wrote at least one hundred and forty letters to Gaston. The two exchanged views on literature, art, and culture. Bruté's letters were replete with spiritual matters, and he often asked Gaston's help in preparation of some dissertation.

One of Father Bruté's first assignments after coming to the United States was at Mount Saint Mary's College near Emmitsburg, Maryland, of which he was a leading figure. While at Emmitsburg Bruté had occasion often to see Gaston's children and kept the father informed concerning them. His letters were always filled with expressions of affection for his friend. He wished to see Gaston become a bishop in North Carolina, and often spoke to him of his desire.[70] When rumors reached him that Gaston might be nominated for the vice-presidency of the United States he was disturbed, saying, "I find no courage to wish

[68] Gaston to Joseph Hopkinson, June 12, 1822, Hopkinson Collection.

[69] England to Gaston, Nov. 7, 1829, ACHS *Records*, XIX, 140-143. The letters of Gaston to England were turned over to the Diocese of Charleston by the family, as they involved many ecclesiastical questions. They were accidently destroyed in a fire.

[70] Bishop Bruté to Gaston, Dec. 7, 1828, Bruté MSS, University of Notre Dame Archives. Hereafter these archives referred to as: AUND. For further information on Bishop Bruté, cf. Sister M. Salesia Godecker's *Simon Bruté de Remur, First Bishop of Vincennes*, (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931), and Theodore Maynard, *The Reed and The Rock*, (New York, 1942).

that happiness to you, but to this country I wish it."[71] When Gaston's nephew, John Louis Taylor, was at Emmitsburg, Bruté asked Gaston to preside at the commencement exercises, but because of his duties on the state supreme court the judge was unable to attend the affair. He had been greatly interested in his nephew's progress, as he had financed his education at the college.[72] After Bruté became Bishop of Vincennes he told Gaston that he was reduced to begging openly; that when Gaston wrote to him he should pay the postage and ballast his letter with a note of $10, for he was as poor as Job.[73] Bishop Bruté was often very critical of Bishop England's policies as far as the *Miscellany* was concerned, and felt that his esposual of the Irish cause in his paper was most unwise. He wrote Gaston several times, asking him to try to influence the Bishop of Charleston concerning the paper. In one letter to Gaston he cried, "It made me bleed along pages of the Miscellany, when all that candor . . . . why will he write before passion is cooled . . . . why no friend, no counsel with whom to read over. . . ."[74]

Gaston was always a pious Catholic and his religion influenced his daily life. His children were often edified to see their father walking up and down the grape arbor in the backyard reading his prayers from a missal or some other prayer book. It can truthfuly be said that he was the greatest Catholic of North Carolina, for the state has never produced another to equal him.

In 1834 the General Assembly of North Carolina elected Gaston to the state supreme court, and he spent the last ten years of his life in that position. He declined to accept any other post, although important public places were several times offered him. The following words are characteristic of his attitude in this respect:

> As the close of life approaches—calmly and gently as I thank God it does come on—I feel a constantly increasing desire, and believe that

[71] Bruté to Gaston, July 27, 1832, Brutè MSS, AUND.

[72] *Idem.*

[73] Bruté to Gaston, Jan. 10, 1835, Bruté MSS, AUND.

[74] Bruté to Gaston, Aug. 14, ? , Bruté MSS, AUND. The letters of Bruté to Gaston are rich in information for the student of Bruté. They are long, written sometimes in French, sometimes in English, with lengthy passages in Latin, or a combination of the three. At the time I used them they had not been used hitherto by any Brutê student. I have been unable to find any of Gaston's letters to Bruté.

> there is an increasing fitness, that I may be allowed to spend the remainder of my days in the discharge of accustomed duties . . . . remote from public glare, and exempt from the ambition of display.[75]

During court sessions in Raleigh he stayed with his sister, Jane Taylor, who had been a widow since 1829. The Taylor home was always full of children, and on winter evenings, if there were no company, the children would usually gather around him for a story from *Arabian Nights* or sometimes a song. On clear and starry nights all would troop outside and the judge would point out the different stars and constellations to them. He loved the society of the young and they loved him. To most of their entertainments he received invitations, which he always accepted, if only to drop in for a few minutes, and he never missed the weddings of his young friends. When the session of the court was over he returned to New Bern, where his two youngest daughters and he would ride about the plantation and take long walks together.

In April, 1837, another grief was thrust upon the family, as Eliza, the wife of Alexander, mother of their two young boys, William and Hugh, passed away at the age of twenty-nine. Two years later Alexander remarried; his bride this time was Sarah Murphy, who completely won the old judge's heart.[76] In September, 1842, Eliza asked his consent to marry George Graham, and two months later Gaston was writing from Baltimore to Mrs. Graham. She had been married by Archbishop Eccleston on November 14 in Washington, D. C. Alexander's debts became a source of worry, so his father worked out a solution to this problem by giving his son in advance his share of the inheritance and by arranging more lenient terms with Alexander's creditors.[77] Feeling that the education of his grandson, William, was being neglected, Gaston offered to finance it, by sending

[75] Gaston to James Ryder, S. J., President of Georgetown College, Nov. 24, 1841, Georgetown University Archives.

[76] There is a tradition that one of these grandsons of Gaston while mortally wounded on a battlefield in the Civil War, was seen and consoled by President Lincoln, who remarked that he was acquainted with the reputation of his grandfather. Lieutenant William Gaston fell in battle with the Spokane Indians in Washington Territory on May 7, 1858, while Captain Hugh Gaston died fighting with the Confederates at the battle of Antietam.

[77] Gaston to Michael Hoke, Feb. 23, 1843, Chief Justice Hoke MSS, University of North Carolina Library Archives.

the lad to Emmitsburg, Raleigh, or the New Bern Academy. He now had but one daughter, Kate, remaining with him as the rest of the children were married.

In the summer following Eliza's marriage Gaston was involved in a serious accident, which made the use of crutches necessary for some time, and delayed his appearance at the summer term of the court. That winter, in December, 1843, he made his will. He left to Alexander's children, William, Hugh, and Susan one-third of all his land in Tennessee and North Carolina and one-third of that on the south side of the Trent River; two-thirds of the land on the Trent River went to Susan Jane Donaldson and to his granddaughter, Hannah Manly, with the exception of the tract inherited from his father on Bryce's Creek between the Hotston and Bullen branches, the tract purchased from Nathaniel Smith, two tracts in Tennessee purchased from A. D. Murphy, and some others which he left to Katherine Jane Gaston and Eliza Graham. To his sister he left $100 a year for the rest of her life, and to his nephew, John Louis Taylor, he left $500. Finally, to the Catholic Church in New Bern he left $100 a year for five years.[78]

A few days before Christmas of 1843, in his last letter to his beloved daughter, Susan, he exclaimed "I fear that the whole family will never again meet in this world, but it is my humble supplication to Almighty God that we will be found together, not one cast away or left behind, in our home beyond the grave. . . ."[79] At this time Gaston had a slight stoop and was a little stout, although this was not noticeable as he stood a little over six feet in height. He had a florid complexion, and his dark hair, above the calm, blue eyes, was abundantly streaked with grey. He had reached a stage where shabby clothes meant nothing; his sister often gave them away in order to force him to buy new apparel.[80]

On the morning of January 23, 1844, Gaston, after a cold shower which he took every morning, came in early to the Taylor home for breakfast. It was a fine sunny day, and he was in the best of spirits, entertaining the rest during the meal with a recitation from memory

[78] Craven County Will Book, D, p. 93.

[79] Gaston to Susan Donaldson, Dec. 22, 1843, Gaston MSS.

[80] Reminiscence of Miss L. N. Taylor, who was just past twenty at Gaston's death. Gaston MSS.

of Johnson's poem, *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. After breakfast he spent another half-hour with them and then left for his office. That afternoon a divorce case was being heard in the supreme court. During the arguments he took notes, but at two o'clock he became faint and sick at the stomach. He left the bench and started for home, but had to step into the governor's office, where he rested until a carriage was obtained. He was then taken to his office; his sister and Dr. Haywood were called, but it was three hours before he could be brought back from the unconscious state into which he had sunk. By this time his office was overflowing with friends, among whom were Chief Justice Ruffin, Governor Morehead, Attorney-General Whitaker, and Charles Manly. After recovering consciousness he was never more brilliant in conversation as Greek, Latin, and poetry flowed from his lips, amid much joking and laughter. When Ruffin proposed applying a hot mustard-plaster he murmured in protest, " 'Tis astonishing, Ruffin, with how much fortitude you bear my troubles."

Finally, in a moment of silence, he began to tell of a party which he had attended at Washington some years before. It seemed that there a certain Tobias Walker had avowed himself a free-thinker in religion. "From that day I always looked on that man with distrust," said Gaston, "I do not say that a free-thinker may not be an honorable man; that he may not from high motive scorn to do a mean act; but I dare not trust him." With solemn earnestness the judge sat up, and looking at those about him, emphatically declared "A belief in an overruling Divinity, who shapes our ends, whose eye is upon us, and who will reward us according to our deeds, is necessary. We must believe there is a God—All Wise and Almighty—" With the last word he sank back with a groan, and never uttered another word, for within five minutes death had claimed him. The merry voices in the office were now stilled, as eyes were dimmed with tears and flushed, laughing countenances became white and sorrowful. They found it hard to realize that this magnetic and beloved personality was no more. The only relative at hand was his sister, for the rest of the family were scattered. At eight o'clock that night his death was announced to the astonished people of Raleigh. He was buried in Raleigh, but later his remains were taken to New Bern for burial in old Cedar Grove Cemetery by the graves of his parents and daughter. The day his body

arrived all business was suspended in the town, bells tolled, and flags were at half-mast. Everyone wore crepe for thirty days, and the Negroes of the town, in a meeting of their own, resolved upon the same procedure, besides voting to place a picture of the judge in every one of their homes.

Attorney-General Whitaker said that the evening before his death Gaston had mentioned that death had no terrors to him, and that the years he had numbered were but so many steps in the completion of the journey assigned him by his Master. The resolution adopted by the bar of the state mentioned his "undeviating pursuit of the right which only an ardent and animating religious faith can bestow and adequately sustain." Judge John R. Donnell, one of his former law students, exclaimed, "His fame as a distinguished statesman and profound jurist belongs to his country . . . . and the pen of the historian will hand it down to the latest posterity. . . . We believe that he never did an intentional wrong. . . ."[81] All state newspapers praised his pure and spotless integrity, and almost every editor who noticed the event in other states commented about the manner of his death. This greatly impressed the country as it had those who were gathered around him at the end. It was characteristic of the man.

J. HERMAN SCHAUINGER

Gannon College

[81] Circular, New Bern, Jan. 29, 1844.

MISCELLANY

A Major Contribution to the History of the American Church

The publication of this monumental work* marks the culmination of twelve years of persevering effort. During this period Drs. Lord and Sexton, assisted at times by other collaborators, steadfastly pursued the laborious and at times baffling search for the records of New England's Catholic past which have gone to the making of these three volumes. In duration of research and range of records located and utilized, their work undoubtedly takes place among the yet small number of major contributions to American Catholic historiography. Among more recent works of distinguished merit, it deserves to rank alongside Guilday's *Life and Times of John England, 1786-1842* (New York, 1927), Rothensteiner's *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), Castañeda's *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin, 1936-1942), and Zwierlein's *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1925-1927). It is another example, in common with these works, of the worth and, by present standards of historical craftsmanship, the necessity, of long-range planning consistently carried through, of utilization of the mechanical auxiliaries of modern scholarship, and of financial support adequate to the full realization of all research possibilities. In this last respect American Catholic historical scholarship owes a sincere debt of gratitude to the late Cardinal O'Connell who fostered and made possible this long sustained investigation of the archdiocese's historic past.

In the preface to the first volume the authors set forth their objectives and criteria:

> The authors have aimed to make this not merely a readable and informative, but a scholarly, history. Hence they have endeavored to base their work as far as possible upon a first-hand study of original sources and to accumulate a vastly greater fund of source-material than has been accessible to previous writers in this field.
>
> We have, in the first place, tried to utilize as fully as possible the enormous mass of printed sources that in one way or another bear upon our subject.

* Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of Its Development, 1604-1943.* 3 Vols. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1944. Pp. xix, 812; vi, 766; vi, 808. $15.00 per set).

> That includes the Boston newspapers throughout two hundred years, and much use of countless other newspapers and periodicals. But even more we have relied upon the unprinted materials to be found in archives, libraries, and private collections (I, xiv).

The range of manuscript materials examined is patent from the list of archives and depositories acknowledged in the preface and credited throughout the volumes. Prominent among the ecclesiastical collections will be found the archives of the Archdioceses of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Quebec, and Montreal, and those of the Dioceses of Portland, Hartford, Prøvidence, and Rochester; the archives of Notre Dame and Georgetown Universities, and of the old Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus at Fordham University; of Boston, Holy Cross, Weston, and St. Mary's (Montreal) Colleges; of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and of the Seminary of Quebec (Laval University); the archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide at Rome; and the collections of Canon A. Uzureau, of Angers, France, and of Peter Guilday and Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., of Washington. Of the civil and institutional depositories covered, materials were obtained from the archives of Harvard University, the National Archives, the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the Boston City Archives, the state archives of Massachusetts and Maine, the Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York Historical Societies, the Boston Public Library, the Boston Athenaeum, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Bostonian Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Bibliothèque de St-Sulpice and Municipal Library, Montreal, the Public Archives of Canada, the British Museum, the archives of the Province of Mayenne, France, and the Archives Nationales and other Paris depositories.

The plan of presentation is chronological. The history of Catholic life in the territory now or formerly embraced within the limits of the archdiocese is divided into six parts distributed through three volumes. Volume I comprises Part I, the colonial and Revolutionary periods (1604-1788), and Part II, Catholic beginnings in Boston, the administration of its first bishop, John Louis Cheverus, and the interregnum following his transfer to the see of Montauban in France (1788-1825). Volume II is devoted to Part III, the administration of Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick (1825-1846), and Part IV, the administration of Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick (1846-1866). Volume III contains Part V, the rule of Archbishop John J. Williams (1866-1907), and Part VI, which covers the administration of Cardinal O'Connell from 1907 to 1943. The three authors have individually shared the responsibility for the presentation of respective portions of the narrative. The entire first volume is written by Father Sexton, the second is divided between Father Lord and Father Harrington—the former treat-

ing of the years of Bishop Fenwick and the latter those of Bishop Fitzpatrick. The third volume is written entirely by Father Lord.

To Father Sexton as author of Parts I and II, dealing respectively with the colonial period and with the first two score years of Catholic life in New England, fell the task of organizing the complex materials of these two centuries of stress and strain into a narrative at once authentic in detail and sufficiently aggregate in conclusion to convey a concrete delineation of the position of the Church in these periods of New England's history. This was no easy undertaking. During the first period the Church was ever on the defensive, allied in its missionary work among the Indians with the territorial claims of France, and even identified in the colonial New England mind with the fictions bred of the sixteenth-century disruption of Christian unity. The political changes that accompanied the opening of the second period presaged the dawn of a new order in the national life, but the rejection of British sovereignty did not occasion any widespread metamorphosis in the traditional ideologies of English-speaking America. The historian of Catholicism in New England during these two centuries must perforce resign himself to the laborious task of extracting the kernels of truth from a field in which the enemy had succeeded beyond measure in sowing cockle. Not merely in the records of purely religious endeavor during these years can he hope to uncover the story of Catholic life and action. To a preponderate degree the minutiae of much of colonial religious life and policy must be sought in the myriad records of economic, social, and political activities. That Father Sexton realized this is evident from even a cursory examination of his narrative and from the citation of the sources from which he gathered his data.

The story of Catholicism in New England opens with the account of the establishment of the French settlement on the Ste. Croix in Maine, in the summer of 1604. Thereafter through fourteen chapters, comprising three hundred and seventy pages, Part I of Volume I, the author treats of the border missions among the Indians, of the unhappy course of religious intolerance, of the successive phases of the kindred "Catholic Question" in Massachusetts, and finally of the status of Catholicism from the outbreak of the American Revolution to 1788.

The history of these Indian missions has often been recounted, most specifically and extensively by Sister M. Celeste Leger in *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820)* (Washington, 1929). But the particular merit of Father Sexton's treatment lies in the substantial amount of additional data derived from recourse to the unpublished sources both of the French and English civil administrations and of the religious bodies that supplied missionaries to this field. The last is particularly true of the non-Jesuit missionaries, especially the Sulpicians and the priests of the Seminary of Quebec. The early Capuchin labors do not fare so well, but

this cannot be charged to any lack of diligence on the author's part. Any extensive amount of additional records of the ministry of these friars in New France that may possibly exist has long eluded the quest of determined researchers.

The policy of integrating the narrative of Catholic activity with the general history of time and place, a distinguishing feature of the entire three volumes, has been consistently followed by the author of these early chapters. This has saved him from a deficiency all too common in accounts of American Catholic mission history, the policy to write as it were in a vacuum, with little attention to the manifold streams of secular activity proceeding concurrently and often exercising a significant influence on religious developments.

The second major aspect of Father Sexton's account of this period is, as already indicated, a study of the prevailing colonial Massachusetts attitude towards the Catholic Church and those relatively few Catholics who took up residence at this time within its boundaries. The general features of this aspect of the commonwealth's early history have long been well known. More recently the subject has been treated specifically from the Catholic angle by Arthur J. Riley in his *Catholicism in New England to 1788* (Washington, 1936), and the aspects of the problem have been discussed by Sister M. Augustina Ray in *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936), and by Charles H. Metzger in *The Quebec Act. A Primary Cause of the American Revolution* (New York, 1936). As contrasted with Riley's volume, Sexton's treatment is characterized by its preponderant reliance upon manuscript materials rather than upon contemporary printed sources. Here, too, as in the chapters relating to the ministry to the Indians, the author has written with an eye always on the general contemporary colonial picture and with a consciousness of the reality of the repercussions being exerted from many quarters on the religious scene.

As the magnitude and possible consequences of the rebellion against the British colonial policy came to be appreciated by the framers of Massachusetts policy, an alteration appeared in the traditional attitude towards matters Catholic. The motives of this change have never been in doubt. The cold facts of prudence and necessity, however, did lead to a mitigation of the old policy, and the concrete manifestations of the change are recorded in Sexton's reconstruction of the Catholic aspect of Massachusetts history from at least 1774 onward. While a fanfare of "No-Popery," prompted largely by the Quebec Act, ushered in the American Revolution, expediency soon led to the assuagement of official utterances. The asperity of reference to the French Catholic inhabitants of Canada gave way to a tone of conciliation. The adhesion of the border tribes to the American cause was sought through the offer of religious freedom, and by the late spring of 1779 a

priest had been assigned to the Maine Indians with the concurrence and assistance of the Massachusetts authorities. By the new constitution of 1780 freedom of worship was granted, among others, to Catholics. Eight years were still to elapse before a Catholic congregation was formed in Boston, but from 1780 to 1782 Catholic religious services were conducted in Boston, Newport, and a few other places by the chaplains of the French fleet. During these years of transition, moreover, the potential Catholic body in Massachusetts, and particularly in Boston, underwent a noteworthy transformation through the augmented Irish immigration. When the French priest calling himself the Abbé de la Poterie began the establishment of the Church in Boston late in 1788 he found a congregation composed of both French and Irish members. Father Sexton has woven the complicated story of these years into a well-balanced narrative, to which his discriminating employment of often elusive sources lends substance as well as color.

The second part of Volume I, consisting of 437 pages distributed through twelve chapters, opens with the autumn of 1788, when the erstwhile French naval chaplain Claude Florent Bouchard—better known as Abbé de la Poterie—settled himself in Boston as first resident priest. The handling of the course of that town's Catholic history for the next four years called for the exercise of the author's most rigid critical acumen. Between 1788 and 1792 three priests ministered to the Boston Catholics. None of them could be considered true representatives of the Catholic clergy, Charles Florent Bouchard, *dit* the Abbé de la Poterie, and Louis de Rousselet, were representatives—the former in a more reprehensible degree than the latter—of the clerical *vagabondi* that too often afflicted the American Church during its formative years. John Thayer, the New England convert, cannot be assigned to this class of ecclesiastical adventurers. Intelligent, sincere, pious, and zealous he certainly was. But his zeal was not always "according to wisdom," and many of his traits of personality, attributable in all probability to inheritance, vitiated in large measure his capacities for an effective ministry. Little of a permanent nature was accomplished by these priests towards the upbuilding of the Church in Boston. The joy of the faithful French and Irish Catholics at the inauguration of a permanent ministry soon gave way through racial and personal animosities to dissension and disunion.

The author has well termed the ministry of Father Francis Anthony Matignon, which commenced in August, 1792, a second foundation of the Boston church. With his arrival a new and happier epoch dawned for Catholicity in New England. When a co-worker in the person of Father John Louis Cheverus arrived in October, 1796, there began the unusually happy partnership in apostolic works of these two friends. Together they were to witness—Matignon before his death and Cheverus before his return

to his native land—an astonishing growth in the status and prestige of the Church in Boston.

In 1808 the Diocese of Boston was established with John Cheverus as its first bishop. With the episcopate came little change in that zealous prelate's life, save the addition of heavier burdens and graver responsibilities. The scarcity of priests in the new jurisdiction required its bishop to continue his former activity as parish priest and missionary. Neither did the scant Catholic population in New England afford him any significant opportunities for organizational abilities. This was reserved for his successor. But in contrast to some other sections of the country, the surviving data for these nascent years of diocesan life is reasonably extensive and compensates in intimacy of detail for the absence of colorful and outstanding developments. From the beginning of his pastorate Father Matignon compiled the Boston parochial records with the care and precision of his Gallic forbears. The establishment of the diocese and the further development of organized ecclesiastical rule resulted in increased correspondence and more abundant memoranda. From these materials Father Sexton has been able to reconstruct with satisfying completeness the history of these years. Moreover, from the highly personal and intimate—as contrasted with public and official—nature of much of this material he has been able to present what is undoubtedly a truer picture of Catholic life in New England that it is possible to derive from the more preponderantly official records of the Church in many other localities during these decades. The conversion of the Barber family belongs to these years, as well as the beginnings of the Catholic ministry in several sections of New England hitherto unvisited by a priest. The centuries-old suspicion and animosity of the Puritan mind towards the Church began to dissipate among the more representative of the Boston populace when exposed to acquaintance with such representative clergymen as Cheverus and Matignon. An effort was made, though not too successfully, to foster native vocations to the priesthood. And finally an important though purely negative aspect of these years must be noted in the absence from the New England diocese at this time of the blight of national contentions and animosities, despite the fact that its French bishop ruled a flock becoming continually less Gallic.

Undoubtedly Father Sexton was confronted throughout the composition of this volume with the tantalizing problems of inclusion and exclusion. Limits must of necessity be assigned to the most extensive of projects, and the demands of proportion and emphasis must be considered and resolved. It is reasonable to conclude that in a work of such thorough scholarship as the volume before us, the author has given vastly more thought to these problems than it is possible for any reviewer to bestow. There undoubtedly will be those who will find chapters covering the colonial period heavy reading and not infrequently monotonous. But in reply it can be pointed

out that the fault here rests not with the author but with the subject matter. The stock colonial attitude towards things Catholic was monotonous both in form and in persistence. The unpleasant story had to be told for background as well as for completeness. The author has presented it with thoroughness and scholarship, and it is not likely that another will soon cover the same ground. To this reviewer, however, it seems regrettable that Father Sexton virtually restricted his study of the colonial attitude towards Catholicism to Massachusetts. It is true that it was in that colony that the "Catholic Question" aroused the most enduring concern, and it was certainly in the same post-revolution commonwealth that a sizable Catholic immigration first confronted the New England consciousness. Yet both Connecticut and Rhode Island had a colonial mentality peculiarly their own which were not without effect when organized Catholic life first appeared within their respective limits at a time when both states were within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston. An analysis of the distinctive characteristics of the religious backgrounds of these states would have made more complete the author's presentation of the New England scene. A number of minor errors, factual or typographical, appear in the course of the narrative. These will be indicated at the close of the review.

The second volume, comprising Parts III and IV of the general narrative, opens with the arrival in Boston of its second bishop on November 30, 1825. With his coming a new era was inaugurated in the Catholic history of New England, and Father Lord, the author of Part III, devotes thirteen chapters totaling 382 pages, to the discussion of the administration of Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick.

Unlike his predecessor, Fenwick was an American to the manner born. Successful as Cheverus had been in winning the respect of a considerable portion of non-Catholic Boston, it would have been only a matter of time, looking back at the succeeding decades, when his foreign birth and even the amenities of his Gallic culture would have afforded fuel to the fires of Nativism that swept over the land. Fenwick, on the other hand, could point to a staunchly Anglo-American ancestry. He could, moreover, draw upon a successful administrative experience in such widely characteristic areas of the United States as New York City, Georgetown, D. C., and Charleston, South Carolina.

The new bishop entered upon his episcopal career at a time when the effects of the Industrial Revolution were becoming discernible in eastern and southern New England through the rise and rapid development of a multitude of manufacturing centers. He was early confronted with the necessity of making provision for the religious care of a Catholic immigrant population that was increasing at a rate never approached during the administration of his predecessor. Canal building, railroad construction, public works generally, and finally the new industries themselves, were send-

ing out calls for labor, and a large percentage of those who responded to these appeals was Irish and Catholic. The exigencies of this enhanced Catholic population made imperative a more extensive and thoroughgoing organization of the diocese than had been necessary in the time of Bishop Cheverus.

The narrative of Catholic life and expansion, restricted very largely to the vicinity of Greater Boston and of the Indian settlements of Maine in Sexton's account of the Cheverus era, is distributed across a larger canvas in Lord's reconstruction of the Fenwick regime. Opening with a succinct but adequate summary of the Fenwick genealogy and of Benedict Fenwick's life prior to his promotion to the episcopate, Father Lord then sketches the condition of the diocese in 1825 and the major problems that the bishop faced in the opening years of his administration. Two chapters are next devoted to the establishment of the Catholic ministry throughout all six New England states between 1825 and 1830. Reverting to the middle years of the Cheverus period, the author takes up the problem of immigration, tracing it, under the name of "The Old Immigration," from 1815 to 1845. This in turn is followed by an analysis of Catholic growth within the limits of the diocese between 1831 and 1838. Three chapters are devoted to the story of anti-Catholic activities from 1825 to 1846. Returning thence to the constructive aspects of his narrative, he sets forth the story of the sustained progress during the last eight years of Fenwick's life. One chapter is given to "Administration, Education, Charity," another to "Press, Laity, Converts," and a final chapter discusses Fenwick's distinctive attributes as a man and bishop and concludes with an account of his death and a brief analytical summary of his contributions to the development of the diocese.

The noteworthy expansion of the Catholic body and the accompanying development of normal Catholic activity that took place throughout the years of Fenwick's administration, gave the historian of his period the opportunity of producing a more complex account than was possible in the case of his predecessor. An essential similarity in many aspects with the problems of diocesan administration in the United States today, lends to the modern reader a sense of kinship with the clergy and laity of the nineteenth-century New England which it is often difficult to kindle for a milieu as disparate as that of colonial Massachusetts or the Indian country about the Saco and the Kennebec.

Different, too, were the types of sources from which Fathers Sexton and Lord had to draw the materials for their narratives. With the development of normal diocesan and parochial administration the canonical registers and other ecclesiastical records served to supply a large share of the fundamental data from which the chapters treating of Catholic life and progress were constructed. The author of the Fenwick chapters had,

in addition, the inestimable advantage of having access to that prelate's manuscript account of the history of the diocese to 1829 entitled "Memoirs to Serve for the Future Ecclesiastical Historian of the Diocese of Boston," and to his diary, opened in 1825, under the title of "Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston." Living in the days of leisurely letter writing Fenwick exercised abundantly this prerogative of a gentleman, and from his correspondence with members of the hierarchy, with his former Jesuit associates, and with his friends generally, as well as from the communications addressed to him, much otherwise unascertainable information has been brought to light. In that most baffling of problems—the determination of the dates of purchase of early ecclesiastical properties—recourse was had to the civil records of land deeds. Extant files of the public press supplied occasional details of Catholic activities and abundant material on the various phases of anti-Catholicism. Institutional and town records provided data on the inception and early development of the now multiplying Catholic endeavors in the fields of education and social welfare.

Many aspects of this period of New England Catholicism invest it with a particular fascination and significance. It was the age of New England's most famous pioneer priests—men of the caliber of William Wiley, William Tyler, Matthew Gibson, George Haskins, Dennis Ryan, Robert Woodley, John B. Daley, Jeremiah O'Callaghan, and James Fitton. It was the era that witnessed the most tragic and disgraceful event in the long history of New England intolerance—the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown in August, 1834. It was an era of distinguished converts to the Church from among the indigenous New England stock. It witnessed the emergence of members of the Catholic laity into positions of distinction in public and professional life—Andrew Carney, the philanthropist, Edward Kavanaugh, Maine legislator and diplomat, and the celebrated portrait painter, George P. A. Healy. From the year 1829 dates the inception of Catholic journalism in New England—the *Catholic Press* of Hartford first appearing in July, and *The Jesuit, or Catholic Sentinel* of Boston in September of that year. In November, 1843, Father Fitton's Mount Saint James Academy, at Worcester, opened under Jesuit direction with the new title of the College of the Holy Cross, thereby inaugurating New England's oldest Catholic institution of higher learning.

To this account of these various aspects of Fenwick's administration the author has brought the substantial results of diligent and scholarly research. The careers of the pioneer priests who labored to lay the foundations of Catholicism throughout the length and breadth of New England have been rescued from the enveloping mists of legend and set forth in as much detail as extant trustworthy records warrant. The lights and shadows of human nature lay across these portraits. The author has frequently been at pains to acknowledge the human failings that clung to these

hard-working shepherds, and he quotes with candor Fenwick's own admission that he had been "deceived by adventurers" and had "laid his hands too hastily on candidates for the priesthood." His treatment of the burning of the Ursuline Convent, if not the most extensive, is certainly the most critical and satisfying to appear to date. The names and deeds of many worthy and outstanding converts have been snatched from encroaching oblivion. The denouement of the Barber enterprise at Claremont, New Hampshire, is set forth with a completeness and candor never hitherto approximated by any writer on the subject. The hitherto vague and unsatisfactory story of the beginnings of New England Catholic journalism is expanded and clarified. The account of the foundation of Holy Cross College is, within its limited extent, the best yet to appear on that century-old institution.

In attempting to delineate the expansion of parochial organization, Father Lord was confronted with the perennial enigma of preserving a continuity of narrative while according due consideration to specific regional developments. Few who have essayed a similar task will quarrel with his solution.

To one recording the singularly impressive accomplishments of Benedict Fenwick's administration the temptation must have been very strong to concentrate on the prelate's merits and prescind from his shortcomings. For Fenwick's was an attractive personality, possessed of many distinguishing traits which clung to the individual even beneath the weight of office. That the author was not unaware of his subject's limitations is apparent from a close study of his general narrative. But in the concluding chapter, which he devotes specifically to a consideration of Fenwick's personality and character, it can hardly be denied that the exposition of the bishop's very real abilities takes on much of the nature of a panegyric. This chapter is not without its merits. The exposition of the prelate's physical and social characteristics is well done. The persistence of the scholar's tastes and inclinations even after the distractions of many years of absorption in the routine of office and the abiding intensity of his apostolic solicitude, are demonstrated beyond the possibility of argument. But apart from these considerations it would appear that in attempting to set down a just evaluation of Fenwick's character and attainments the author has leaned too heavily upon the discourses and sketches prepared on the occasion of his death, and particularly upon that written by Orestes Brownson. Otherwise he would hardly have termed Fenwick "an eminent scholar" (II, 375), and the merited encomiums might have been expressed in more measured terms.

While the author, as indicated above, usually demonstrates a commendable forthrightness in his appraisal of men and events, there are times when the cause of truth would have been better served by more explicit assertion. The enigmatic character of Father Charles Ffrench is a case in

point. The strongest defense of that energetic personality will be found in Victor F. O'Daniel's *Dominican Province of St. Joseph. Historico-Bibliographical Studies* (New York, 1942), which, incidentally, is not mentioned among the references. Father Lord has obviously formed his own conclusions, but their formulation consists merely of the innocuous statement that "judgment, prudence, and self-control he [Ffrench] appears at times at least, to have lacked" (II, 368). In his reference to Brownson's relations with Bishop Fitzpatrick (II, 368) the author has presented less than an accurate account. The philosopher and the bishop both suffered, from the beginning of their acquaintance, from a seeming impossibility of reducing their intellectual relations to mutually appreciable terms. The difficulty lay fundamentally in the dissimilar philosophical training of the two men, and to a degree, perhaps, in their characters. But difficulty it was, and one long recognized by students of Brownson's thought and career. Over half a century ago Isaac Hecker discussed it in his article "Doctor Brownson and Bishop Fitzpatrick" [*Catholic World,* XLI (April, 1888), 1-7]. Similar observations might be made on the treatment of Brownson's journalistic labors and on the often tempestuous course of his Catholic life (II, 370). It is regrettable that in depicting the role played by school textbooks in the perpetuation of anti-Catholic prejudice no reference was made to Sister Marie Léonore Fell's *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860* (Washington, 1941). *The New England Primer* was the chief but not the only offender in this respect. Similarly, reference might have been made in connection with the contributions of the Leopoldine Foundation to Theodore Roemer's studies, "The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States (1829-1839)" (United States Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series, XIII, New York, 1933) and *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis, 1942).

The second half of Volume II is given over to Part IV of the general narrative, and deals with Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick's government of the diocese during the two decades from 1846 to 1866. The author, Father Edward T. Harrington, divided his 377 pages of text into sixteen chapters. In general he follows the pattern of development adopted by Father Lord for the Fenwick period, but he makes due allowance for developments germane to the mid-century years of Fitzpatrick's administration.

John Bernard Fitzpatrick was the first native New England Catholic to attain promotion to the episcopate, and the first chapter in this account is taken up with the years of his boyhood and young manhood and with his early career in the priesthood. This is followed by a chapter treating of general diocesan administration and activities to the close of 1858. The phenomenal Irish immigration reaching New England during the famine years of the mid-century is next considered, and this in turn is followed by

a chapter devoted to a discussion of the repercussions produced by the arrival of this vast flood of destitute humanity on the civic commonwealth, the Church, and upon the immigrants themselves. The four succeeding chapters are given over to a detailed exposition of Catholic development in the various portions of the diocese—three to the parishes and missions of Massachusets and the fourth to those of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The long and at times acrimonious controversy waged over the issue of religion in the schools, forms the subject of another chapter, as does the narrative of Catholic educational development on primary, secondary, and collegiate levels. Catholic charitable and welfare activities expanded rapidly in the years following the great Irish immigration and to the details of these foundations another chapter has been assigned. The new wave of intolerance that became discernible as early as 1847 and terminated only with the downfall of Know-Nothingism under the impact of the Civil War forms the subject matter of two more chapters. A brief chapter is devoted to the Civil War itself and to its effects on the still predominantly Irish Church of Massachusetts. In a chapter entitled "Various Aspects of the Period" will be found a general tribute to the diocesan clergy of these years, a glimpse at the pleasanter side of relations between Catholics and non-Catholics, an account of the more prominent New England converts of the Fitzpatrick years, and a summary of the enhanced enterprises in the field of local Catholic journalism. The last chapter is devoted to Fitzpatrick's final labors in the service of the American Church, his steadfastness in the administration of the temporalities of church property, the public honors bestowed upon him, his death, and a brief evaluation of his contributions to the development of the diocese.

The Church in New England experienced an even greater expansion during Bishop Fitzpatrick's years of rule than it had under his predecessor. And this progress consisted not alone in an enhanced numerical strength but also in the inception and multiplication of the manifold auxiliaries of mature Catholic life. Institutions of charity and education which Fenwick had envisioned but had never been able to undertake now began to appear in the more populous areas of the diocese. Throughout this administration the Catholic body of Massachusetts, although never a *gens lucifuga*, was rapidly carving out for itself a position of stability and significance in the life of the commonwealth. But before that place had been securely attained it was forced to live through the most determined assaults of intolerance ever visited up to that time upon any group in New England since the close of the colonial period. It was at once the irony and providence of Bishop Fitzpatrick's reign that he, native-born of Boston, should have been called to guide a largely immigrant flock through this long period of hostility. More than half of his twenty years of office were passed in the shadows of oppression and animosity.

But there was a brighter and more constructive side to these two decades. If Fenwick can be called the organizer of the Diocese of Boston, to Fitzpatrick must be accorded the credit for inaugurating its more definitely canonical administration. Diocesan business increased so greatly in the years following the great Irish migration that the leisurely and highly personal management of all aspects of administration which characterized the rule of the early nineteenth-century American bishops was no longer proving efficient or possible. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore had in 1852 directed that chancery offices be established in the respective dioceses, and in the summer of 1855 this procedure was inaugurated in the Diocese of Boston with the Reverend James A. Healy as chancellor.

The territory of the diocese, comprising originally all of the New England states, was first reduced in 1843 by the erection of the Diocese of Hartford to which was assigned the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island. In 1853 a further reduction of territory was effected with the creation of the Dioceses of Portland and Burlington, the former having jurisdiction over the States of Maine and New Hampshire and the latter over Vermont. The Diocese of Boston, restricted by these changes to the limits of Massachusetts, now had a total of ninety-five churches, forty-seven of which had been founded in the seven years since Bishop Fitzpatrick assumed the government of the diocese. By the time of his death in 1866 the number of churches had risen to 109, the number of priests from thirty-nine in 1846 to 116. The increase of the Catholic population during these years is impossible to estimate with even approximate certainty in the absence of adequate statistics. The comparative rate of increase may be judged to some extent from the growth in the number of churches.

It was under Fitzpatrick that the parochial school system began its first substantial development. Although the lack of adequate statistics is encountered here as well as in the matter of population, it is evident that by at least 1865 the diocese possessed nine schools for girls, four for boys, and three academies, with a total attendance of approximately 5,000 pupils. The bishop's long cherished hope for a Catholic institution of collegiate grade in his episcopal city was realized with the opening of Boston College in September, 1864, although for its first few years the institution could be reckoned as little more than a secondary school. By this time too, Holy Cross College, rebuilt after the disastrous fire of 1852, was entering upon the third decade of its career. By the last year of the bishop's life the Christian obligations to the ill and unfortunate had been met to the limit of available resources. The diocese then possessed two hospitals and three asylums for children. The Young Catholic Friends' Society, active in Sunday school and relief work in the early and middle 'fifties, fell upon evil ways towards the close of the decade and lost the bishop's approval,

but as early as 1861 Father John J. Williams had established a conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in St. James' Parish, Boston.

In two respects the sordid manifestations of religious animosity which darken the annals of Massachusetts history during so many of the years of the Fitzpatrick administration are relieved in part by recurrent instances of a kindlier and more open-minded attitude prevailing among large numbers of the non-Catholic public. In a number of towns and villages the efforts of the generally impoverished Catholic congregations to build churches were aided by the generosity of non-Catholic neighbors, and in the case of Leicester the erection of the church was encouraged by the Congregational minister. Non-Catholic assistance was generous in the support of the Catholic charitable enterprises, notably so in regard to the Eliot Charity School and St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum. In the latter phases of the protracted negotiations for the charter of Holy Cross College and in the unsuccessful legal efforts to obtain indemnity for the destruction of the Charlestown convent, prominent Protestants came in numbers to the aid of their Catholic fellow citizens. Throughout these years Bishop Fitzpatrick appears to have continued to gain an increasing measure of kindly good-will from among the citizenry generally.

In another respect, too, these years gave ample demonstration that the odious note of alarm of the professional agitators had not succeeded in closing the minds of all non-Catholics to a dispassionate consideration of the Church's teachings. The succession of converts from the native New England stock which had become fairly conspicuous by the close of Fenwick's rule was maintained and multiplied during the Fitzpatrick regime.

Two preponderant realities individuated the administration of Boston's third bishop—the perseverance and virulence of anti-Catholic animosity and the profound effect in population increase and in the development of Catholic life of the Irish immigration of the mid-century. And it was undoubtedly these considerations that largely determined Father Harrington's handling of his portion of the diocesan history. It is difficult to envision any alternative general procedure. The extensive treatment accorded the general and regional manifestations of hostility does not make pleasant reading, and the localization of the attack does little to relieve the monotonous repetition of the centuries-old canards. Yet this unhappy condition was one aspect of the nineteenth-century New England Catholic life. Its repercussions on the Catholic body were many and profound. Compelled to consider it, the author has made his treatment inclusive and substantial. Few will be inclined soon again to devote time and effort to its study and exposition. The danger of so extensive a presentation of external assaults in a narrative of this type lies in the overtones. By connotation the unwary reader may gather largely negative impressions, whereas the life of grace went on within the Catholic body

during all this long period of stress and strain. In other words, whatever misgivings this reviewer may entertain concerning the author's discussion of anti-Catholicism in Massachusetts during Fitzpatrick's years arise not from questions of matter or of form but of proportion.

With the second outstanding aspect of these years—the "Immigrant Flood" and its consequences, Father Harrington has dealt soundly and with understanding. Oratorical denunciations of British iniquity, deserved as they might well be, do not enter into his discussion of the circumstances causing and attending this movement of population which so profoundly effected the Church in the Diocese of Boston. Neither has he prescinded from the fact that this sudden and violent uprooting of a people from its traditional way of life was not effected without injury to a slender minority of the transplanted folk. The rapid and extensive immigration brought problems as well as strength to the Church in America, but the author has been guided by the canons of sound history in judging of both in the proportions of their relative importance.

The expansion throughout the diocese of the greatly augmented Catholic body made imperative a more detailed localization of treatment than Father Lord had found necessary in his accounts of the less rapid and widespread growth taking place in the Fenwick years. Harrington's solution of this problem serves well the interests of clarity and of comparison. His analysis of the various aspects and successive phases of the school question adds another able chapter to the slowly clarifying story of this vital phase of American Catholic life. The chapter on diocesan administration and activities treats a number of topics often left out of account in works of a similar nature. That the treatment here is not always as full as one might desire will be readily condoned by those who have sought to gather data on the details of diocesan administration in the years antedating modern office techniques.

The discussion of the Fitzpatrick phase of the New England convert movement will please all students of this interesting phase of American Catholic history, and, it is to be hoped, will stimulate some of them to action in making more widely known a number of these engaging personalities. The unique story of the Vermont converts was contributed by Father Lord, and both he and Father Harrington deserve credit for rescuing from obscurity the names of these men and women who sacrificed much for conscience's sake. By this time the genius of the convert Brownson was fully unsheathed in the service of the Catholic cause, and quite naturally the author has entered at some length into the story of his life and works. The discussion of his distinctive intellectual approach to the problems of religion and of his relations with the American hierarchy—particularly with Bishop Fitzpatrick—is more candid than that accorded his early Catholic life in the history of the Fenwick administration.

In the main, Father Harrington has uncovered his data from the classes of sources that proved so serviceable to Father Lord. Like his predecessor Fitzpatrick kept up the memoranda or the diary of diocesan affairs. The multiplication of parishes with resident pastors led to more numerous, and presumably more adequate, parish records. The increased measure of intolerance compelled a greater recourse to the files of the contemporary newspapers as mirrors, to a considerable degree, of the public mind of the day. The files of the expanding Catholic press of Boston were examined with gratifying results. The archives and published reports of governmental and civic bodies furnished data on manifold aspects of immigration, education, and social welfare.

Regretfully, however, it must be conceded that Father Harrington has not avoided occasional lapses into exaggeration. Could he have completely forgotten Francis Patrick Kenrick or Martin John Spalding when he wrote of John Fitzpatrick: "Probably he had the most outstanding talent for writing among all the American bishops of that time" (II, 405)? Again, referring to the bishop's last trip to Europe, in the days of the Civil War, he writes: "When he was sick and stricken with paralysis, he sacrificed his strength in turning European opinion to the Northern cause. His success was far greater than that of many a trained diplomat" (II, 765)! The discussion of Fitzpatrick's delay in securing an auxiliary or a coadjutor (II, 761-762) is decidedly labored, and the author has not always resisted the inclination to sermonize.

With the third volume Father Lord returns to the authorship, and carries it through to the conclusion of the work. This final volume comprises Parts V and VI, the administrations respectfully of Archbishop Williams and of Cardinal O'Connell.

Part V, the Williams era, runs to 437 pages, divided into sixteen chapters. Following the precedent established in the account of the first bishop, the opening chapter is devoted to a sketch of John Joseph Williams' early life. The more significant general aspects of the first decade of the new administration are then recounted through two chapters, which are in turn followed by two more chapters, carrying the general account of diocesan affairs through the decade 1876-1886. The new phase of religious intolerance which ran its course through the third decade of the Williams' period is traced in the succeeding two chapters, which are followed by a chapter setting forth the general outlines of the internal controverises that rocked the American Catholic body through the late 1880's and a great part of the 1890's. The new, and largely non-English-speaking, immigration that poured in increasing volume into the diocese throughout the last third of the nineteenth century forms the subject of another chapter. The author then turns to a study of the regional development of the diocese, and

devotes three chapters to the progress of Catholicism from 1866 to 1907 in the five counties remaining to Boston after the erection of the Diocese of Springfield in 1870. The three remaining chapters are concerned respectively with diocesan administration and Catholic education, charitable institutions, and the salient aspects of Catholic life within the Boston jurisdiction.

John J. Williams' administration was the longest in the history of the Boston see. Yet this unusual span of four decades is of less significance, reckoned solely in terms of years, than when considered in its relation to the sequence of nineteenth-century civil and religious developments in the United States. It was during this period that the technological techniques ushered in by the Industrial Revolution forged the new order of material life which has come to be the most distinctive aspect of modern America. Coeval with this metamorphosis of industry went the transformation in American social life which issued in the new feudalism of wage-earners. Immigration entered upon a new phase greatly expanded in volume and undergoing a rapid alteration in racial content. Big cities and big business were the order of the day. Religious intolerance entered upon a new and sordid, though less violent, campaign. The Catholic body itself was not immune from the impacts of these changes, and from within its own ranks rose controversies and contentions that disturbed its peace.

Through all these radical transformations in the American way of life John J. Williams piloted the Church of Boston—quietly, confidently, and conservatively. The first decade of his rule was for the diocese a period of unprecedented expansion in the construction of new churches, the introduction of additional religious congregations of men and women, and in the foundation of new and diversified institutions of charity and social welfare. But he also found time to convene two diocesan synods, to attend the Vatican Council, and the means to erect the cathedral which that hapless prelate-diplomat, Gaetano Bedini, had so inopportunely urged upon Bishop Fitzpatrick. Within the same decade, in 1875, Boston was raised to the rank of an archdiocese. The succeeding ten years witnessed a slower rate of expansion, due in part undoubtedly, to the economic stringency of much of the period. Yet the construction of new churches went on, still more communities were brought in, educational and charitable institutions continued to multiply, and in 1884 Archbishop Williams opened the diocesan seminary at Brighton. But as in his predecessor's time this progress was not attained without a renewal of religious intolerance. During these years the matter of state aid for Catholic charitable institutions and of religious freedom in penal and in state charitable institutions formed subjects of contention, but it was around the perennial school question that the sharpest controversy was waged. Foreign-born as well as native agitators added fuel to this new phase of the "Protestant Crusade" which

survived virtually to the close of the century, and disappeared only with the collapse of the A.P.A.

Archbishop Williams' position and experience prevented him from remaining entirely aloof from the dissensions that disturbed the harmony of the governing body of the American Church during the late 'eighties and the 'nineties. On the ethnical problems growing out of the later phases of immigration, the educational issues, the labor question, the desirability of a permanent apostolic delegate, the establishment of the Catholic University of America, "Americanism"—on all of these issues the American hierarchy found itself sharply divided. Never a protagonist in controversy, the Archbishop of Boston retained through the years of these often acrimonious contentions the friendship and in large measure, it would seem, the trust of the leaders of the opposing factions. His resource was compounded of rugged honesty of character and a sound common sense.

Once more it is impossible to estimate with certainty the rate of increase or the total Catholic population of the diocese during the Williams era. If Lord's estimate of little more than 200,000 souls in 1866 is correct—and probability is greatly in his favor—the magnitude of his task may be approximately gauged by the totals extracted by the author from the annual *Catholic Directories*. Upon the basis of these computations the Catholic population had risen by 1874 to 300,000, to 400,000 by 1887, to 500,000 by 1904, and 750,000 by 1907. The Irish-Americans still enjoyed a numerical pre-eminence and their hegemony had not been seriously challenged, but the homogeneity of the Catholic body was dissolving. Churches had to be provided and a native-speaking clergy found for the newcomers, the Poles, the Italians, the Portuguese, the Lithuanians, and the Syrians. In the city of Boston alone, greatly extended during these years by the annexation of contiguous communities, the four decades of Archbishop Williams' rule marked a period of hitherto unparalleled expansion, with an increase in the number of parishes from sixteen to fifty-one and in churches from eighteen to fifty-eight. A similar external manifestation of Catholic advance could be found in the other industrial areas of the diocese, and, even in the long-solidly Protestant rural districts, parishes and missions were organized.

This increase in population and ultimately in financial resources both required and permitted the multiplication of Catholic schools and charitable institutions. The same factors promoted the growth of Holy Cross and Boston Colleges. The tenure of church property, a delicate and often troublesome factor in diocesan administration, had long failed of satisfactory solution in Massachusetts. Early in his episcopal career Williams had essayed its solution upon the lines of the New York form of corporation aggregate which Fitzpatrick before him had sought the General Court to

enact. Failing in this, the archbishop was able to secure relief only in 1897 and this in the form of a corporation sole.

No clearer demonstration of the vitality of faith during the Williams years could be advanced than that afforded by Father Lord's delineation of the Catholic life of the era. The multiplication of churches and priests marked the passing of the missionary age. The normal devotional life was now free to develop, and the diocese witnessed the propagation of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostleship of Prayer, the Holy Name Society, the Forty Hours' Devotion, and, in Holy Cross Cathedral, the formation of a Nocturnal Adoration Society. The Christian's obligations to his fellowmen were recognized in the remarkable extension of the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The temperance movement, long descended from the eminence of Father Mathew's day, was revived in the post-Civil War years under the form of total abstinence societies. Fraternal societies carrying insurance benefits, particularly the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters and the Knights of Columbus, flourished. Lyceums and literary societies grew in a number of localities, but their life span was seldom long. A number of Young Men's Catholic Associations prospered for a time, and the Catholic Union of Boston rendered good service in its prime. But by and all the difficulties encountered throughout the country in that day—and since—in sustaining the vitality of Catholic lay organizations were experienced also in Massachusetts.

In the field of Catholic journalism, however, the New England metropolis could lay claim at this period to unusual distinction. When Bishop Williams took over the care of the diocese in 1866 Patrick Donahoe and the *Pilot* enjoyed an eminence in American Catholic journalism seriously challenged only by James A. McMaster and the *Freeman's Journal*. And although the reverses suffered by Donahoe in the early 'seventies led him in 1876 to relinquish control for a number of years, the *Pilot* in the competent hands of John Boyle O'Reilly, James Jeffrey Roche, and Katherine E. Conway continued its distinguished career. In 1878 Patrick Donahoe founded the long-popular monthly, *Donahoe's Magazine*, and the *Sacred Heart Review*, established in 1888 by Father John O'Brien, of East Cambridge, ultimately built up a clientele extending far beyond the limits of the diocese.

Exceeding, perhaps, in numbers those of any preceding episcopate were the converts from old New England stock who entered the Church during the Williams rule. Certainly more numerous were the converts from prominent local families.

In a work so splendidly accomplished as these chapters on the administration of Boston's first archbishop, it would be ungenerous to cavil at matters of little import. Relying upon the trustworthy sources from which the data for the foregoing sections was drawn, Father Lord has ac-

complished his assignment with credit and distinction. Forty-one years is a long period for which to retain a sense of proportion and in which to trace in detail the objectives, policies, principles of administration, and the well-springs of even a single personality. This was a period, moreover, of strong and often contending currents in the gathering momentum of American Catholic development, streams of thought and action whose origin, individuation, and direction were not always clearly discernible in the maelstrom of a highly complex area of American life. The Catholic advance was by this time proceeding along lines perpendicular as well as horizontal. It was acquiring depth as well as extension.

Of these aspects of his period Lord has been aware and he has not evaded the labor involved in integrating the history of the Boston diocese with the course of national Catholic life. His delineation of diocesan expansion is orderly, factual, and free of the excess of detail which would only becloud the narrative without adding to its general worth. His reconstruction of the Massachusetts aspects of the anti-Catholic movements will endure as a definitive presentation of this regional segment of the story of later nineteenth-century religious intolerance. Voluminous, indeed, is the space devoted to this theme, and despite its obvious merits in research and presentation the question may well be entertained if in this instance, as in that of Harrington's treatment of earlier phases of the same phenomenon, proportion has not been sacrificed to exhaustiveness. Fortunately, the very magnitude of the Catholic advance during the Williams era obviates in this instance much of the danger of misinterpretation from the overtones to which the reviewer adverted in the former case.

The chapter on the Catholic life of these decades introduces a number of aspects of genuinely historical compass usually passed over by students of American Catholic history. Yet a number of these aspects are the fruits by which, the Redeemer warned us, the reality of our faith would be known. The latter comprise in general the most difficult of all phases of Catholic history upon which to gather data. Catholic devotional life is of its nature intimate and little concerned with records or statistics. Catholic charitable endeavor during these years, long antecedent to the advent of modern welfare techniques, was by design personal and unostentatious. If the author's treatment of these features is general and based upon a paucity of sources, the explanation may well rest in the nature of the subject. The discussion of the outstanding converts of this era is commendable in its range and specification, and demonstrates how sparsely covered has been the field of American Catholic biography.

Yet despite the inclusiveness of Father Lord's narrative, or perhaps, because of it, occasional inaccuracies and questionable deductions have crept into the text. Fitzpatrick's journey of 1862 to Europe is here said to have commenced in May (III, 14); Harrington gives April (II, 759).

In 1870 James Gibbons was not "of Richmond," but Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina (III, 38). Note 8, page 339, should read Studies in *American* Church History. A provoking silence impairs the discussions of the *ternas* of 1865 (III, 15) and of 1904 (III, 421). Why, in the first instance, was Martin Spalding opposed to the selection of Williams? By the time of the O'Connell appointment in 1906 "leaks" from across the water were usually supplying the American press with a measure of data, often accurate, on pending episcopal appointments. The accuracy of some of these reports on the Boston candidacy is implied in Lord's approval of Rome's choice. What valid purpose is served by injudicious silence in the face of newspaper rumor and insinuation? At any event, the animadversion to Bishop Harkins is uncalled for. Only in imagination can Matthew Harkins be reckoned other than a strong man. The death of Cardinal McCloskey naturally gave rise to speculation concerning the appointment of an American successor in the Sacred College. Williams' name would naturally figure in the discussion. But other names were also mentioned. The author's treatment (III, 97-99) is plausible but not convincing. It rests too heavily upon traditions and rumors, and takes little account of contradictory rumors loudly broadcasted in other localities.

The chapter on the internal controversies of the American Church during the late 1880's and 1890's (III, 160-188) presents the best succinct account of these questions yet to appear in print. The author has had access to the pertinent ecclesiastical archives of Baltimore, New York, and Rochester; but the dispersal of the Ireland materials at St. Paul has proved a tragedy to Lord's researches as it has to those of Zwierlein and all others who have worked in this period. The author's open-mindedness is obvious throughout his discussion of the various complicated issues, and he has endeavored to set forth the resolution of these problems in a spirit of personal detachment from the personalities of the protagonists.

It is, perhaps, too early to expect definitive judgments on these highly complicated issues. Father Lord would probably be the last to claim any measure of finality for the deductions in this chapter. Virtually all aspects of the prevailing differences must be submitted to further exhaustive research and study. Within the limits and purpose of this review, however, it should be permissible to offer a few observations.

It is not unlikely that further examination of the issues and personalities involved will result in a revision of the now accepted segregation of the prelates concerned into the categories of liberals and conservatives. It is certain that more exhaustive scholarship will dissolve the long-prevalent tendency to associate in equivalent evaluation the names of Gibbons, Ireland, Keane, and Denis O'Connell. It is equally certain that when the full account of Michael Augustine Corrigan's life is written it will compel revisions in the now too simple prevailing disjunction of the American

prelates of that day. A more complete and forthright study than has yet been made of the negotiations leading to and of the inauguration of the Apostolic Delegation would clarify and probably amend some aspects of the matter as presented in Father Lord's narrative. The circumstances attending Archbishop Satolli's reception in New York harbor, if fully known and told, would mitigate in some measure that prelate's initial dependence on one group of the then divided hierarchy; it would surely give due credit to his sagacity, and it might possibly provide a criterion for judging other events of the period.

The administration of Cardinal O'Connell forms the subject of Part VI which is divided into thirteen chapters and an epilogue and comprises 332 pages. This reviewer cannot refrain from feeling that the inclusion of this administration in the present work was ill-advised. The time will come when the life and work of the recently-deceased cardinal archbishop can and should be studied with the same scholarly discipline that has gone to the making of the preceding parts of this history. But that time has not yet arrived. A quarter or half century hence, time will have resolved the factors that make an adequate appraisal impossible at present. It would be unfair to the merits of the other portions of the Lord-Sexton-Harrington volumes to review this section and conclude on a note of deprecation. It is obvious that the author was limited to a very small range of sources from which to extract the materials for large portions of these chapters. The documentation leans heavily on printed sources, and of these the *Pilot*, and the *Reminiscences, Recollections,* and *Sermons and Addresses* of His Eminence appear with disturbing frequency. In consequence many decisive steps in the diocesan administration of these years are handled in a superficial manner. An instance in point may be found in the discussion of the circumstances attendant upon the replacement of the Sulpicians at St. John's Seminary in 1911. A study of the archival materials bearing upon this incident will lead to conclusions variant from those here set down. A tone of excessive adulation permeates the treatment of this entire period.

The misprints and obvious oversights, considering the extent of the work, are rare throughout the three volumes. A few may be pointed out. The doubling of footnotes in the text (I, 53) is awkward. Sexton's use of *sic* is occasionally confusing and not always consistent (I, 73, 84, 438). Why is the numeral 3 inserted ahead of the title in note 29 (I, 102)? The date "summer of 1644" should obviously read "1774" (I, 173). The title of Riley's work is incorrectly given (I, 181, n. 62). The apostrophe after "Massachusetts" should be omitted (I, 200). The construction "gave them to think" (I, 269) is awkward. Strictly speaking, Plowden and his associates were *ex*-Jesuits in 1784 (I, 364). The dates of Thayer's letters to Carroll should be rechecked (I, 425). It is not likely that both were dated January 6. Sexton himself is not consistent in the spelling of Lesslie's

(Leslie's) name (I, 465 text and n. 39). "Properest" is an unusual form (I, 471). The expression "best good" (I, 527) is awkward. The misprint "because" (I, 669) is obvious. "Rev." before John Gilmary Shea's name (I, 670, n. 93; 730, n. 51; 794, n. 39) is clearly an oversight or an error in transcription. The date of publication of Fish's *Guide* is 1911, not 1811 (I, 707, n. 89). For "Benjamin" Fenwick (I, 766, n. 10) read "Benedict;" last word in text (I, 789) should be Richmond, not Norfolk. In the list of baptisms (II, 125) read 1834 instead of 1934. Should not "city dealers" (II, 442) read "city dwellers?" The date (1832) assigned the Home for Destitute Children at Newburyport (III, 369) is clearly a misprint.

The volumes are illustrated with a number of halftones of bishops, priests, and ecclesiastical buildings. The mechanical features of the volumes, allowing for war-time restrictions, are satisfactory. The index is accurate but not exhaustive. The inclusion of a larger number of topical entries would have added greatly to its utility. The addition of statistical tables of clergy, parishes, and institutions would have enhanced its value as a work of ready reference. But the most serious omissions are of maps and a formal bibliography. The addition of the former would have elucidated the text for readers whose knowledge of local New England geography is limited. The rich bibliophile erudition of the notes, if assembled in a formal bibliography, would have constituted a distinct contribution of inestimable value.

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BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Church and the Papacy. A Historical Study. [The Bampton Lectures, 1942.] By TREVOR GERVASE JALLAND, D.D. Vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1944. Pp. xi, 568. 25/.)

Were one to be asked to set down in a word that which is most characteristic of this new study on the Roman episcopate, he would have little hesitancy, the reviewer believes, in fixing upon its eminent fairness. The work of an Anglican scholar whose competence has before this been demonstrated by his masterly *Life and Times of St. Leo the Great* (London, 1941). The study manifests an understanding of the function of the first see in Christendom and the awareness "that the Papacy must always defy a categorization which is purely of this world" (p. 543).

Though the book itself runs to some length, the very magnitude of its subject—that, namely, of the relationship between the Church and the Bishop of Rome from the beginning down to the Vatican Council—might have made it all little more than a summary study. Dr. Jalland has skilfully surmounted that obstacle. He has chosen to devote special attention to the major problems of the first six centuries and to content himself with a briefer sketch of the difficulties in later ages. Thus two-thirds of his volume is given over to the period before Gregory the Great while the remaining pages review mediaeval and modern times.

This latter section is admittedly compendious. On the whole, it is well thought out and balanced. Yet there is in it too much dependence on secondary material. The discussion of Luther, e.g., rests entirely upon Creighton and the *Cambridge Modern History* with a sprinkling of texts from Mirbt. Moreover, the choice of authorities is not always good; Pastor is not used at all nor, for the period since 1800, the three volumes of Joseph Schmidlin: *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit* (München, 1933-40). Then too, it is in this part that the author falls away at times from his normal equity. His comments upon the Society of Jesus and his evaluation of the popes immediately preceding Pius IX come to mind. It is here also that one may question the relative pominence—or lack of it—given single topics. The reviewer should like to have seen more attention focused upon the formation of conciliarism in the later Middle Ages. Dr. Jalland would have found material ready to hand in the three articles contributed by Victor Martin to the *Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* Vol. XVII (1937).

It is, however, in its study of the Papacy before 600 that the real merit of the work lies. For that period, the book is exceptionally well done. One is impressed by the ease with which sources are handled and periodic literature managed. Several points, indeed, deserve special mention. Thus the reviewer liked finding Zernov's view followed in getting at the meaning of the Paschal Controversy in the late second century. The suggestion is made that Pope Victor's famed excommunication dealt only with Asiatic *Christians* domiciled at Rome and that it was Eusebius who misread his documents to find therein a papal cutting off of Asiatic *churches* (pp. 115-122). And then there is the interpretation of St. Irenaeus on the Roman Church. Dr. Jalland sees in the text explicit recognition of Rome's function as a norm in matters of doctrine. He renders the "convenire ad" "agree with" rather than "resort to;" "principalitas" he turns into "origin" (pp. 111-115). Since 1938 two other Anglicans—Dom Gregory Dix and Father Henry Edward Symonds—have reached a like position.

At one place (pp. 93-94), there is put forward, somewhat hestitantly, the view that the earliest occupants of the Roman See may have served as contemporary rather than as successive holders of the episcopal office. One would like to call the author's attention to a study by Ludwig von Hertling, "I Kor. 16, 15 und 1 Clem. 42" in *Biblica* XX (1939), 276-283, which makes possible a somewhat different interpretation of the materials that have puzzled him. With Hertling's theory, one is able to hold to the monarchial character of the primitive episcopate and yet find place for a collegiate element.

Of course, it is true that even in this first part of the volume wherein Dr. Jalland is himself a specialist, there are some points with which one may quarrel. Much stress is laid, e.g., upon the non-liturgical nature of the early presbyterate and support is seen for that position in the papal custom of sending the consecrated *fermentum* to parishes inside Rome (p. 154). That is scarcely the significance of the practice. The Pope sent a portion of his own Eucharist to the city presbyters simply as a symbol of the communion that existed between him and them; that does not at all exclude the celebration of various lesser Eucharists by these clerical recipients. Dr. Jalland would have seen that himself, one feels sure, had the booklet of Dom Gregory Dix, *A Detection of Aumbries* (Dacre Press, 1942), (pp. 15-20) appeared in time for use in his manuscript.

It also struck the reviewer that along with some very excellent remarks upon the thought of St. Cyprian, there were apparent certain weaknesses. Thus the interpretation set upon the phrase "ecclesia principalis" in Ep. 59,14 (pp. 166-167) stands up poorly against the brilliant comments of Karl Adam in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CIX (1928), 226-228.

But these are no more than minor defects. The work in its entirety merits high commendation indeed. The reviewer should like Dr. Jalland to know that others feel with him that his labors have, in fact, done much "to serve the cause of truth and in the end, as we hope, that of Christian unity."

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Origen. His Life at Alexandria. A translation of René Cadiou's *La Jeunesse d'Origène. Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie au début du IIIe siècle.* By JOHN A. SOUTHWELL. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. xiii, 338. $3.25.)

The publisher's note on this volume (p. iii) does not give the French sub-title, nor does it inform us that this important work appeared in 1936 and in the series, *Études de Théologie historique*. The reader might also have been informed that it is one of two monographs published as theses for the author's doctorate; and that the companion volume, appearing in the same year, represents an important contribution to the reclamation of the wreckage of Origen's works: *Commentaires inédits des Psaumes. Étude sur les textes d'Origène contenus dans le ms. Vindobonensis 8* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres).

Both works were widely reviewed, generally very favorably, during the interval before the war. Concerning *La jeunesse d'Origène*, the following brief indications of its contents must suffice. In the highly intellectual pagan atmosphere of Alexandria, Origen found it necessary to formulate a systematic theology of Christian belief. It was but natural that, steeped as he was in the traditional classical Greek thought, and taught by great Greek masters, he should attempt to harmonize as far as possible this tradition with Christianity, "the most metaphysical religion." Alexandrian Neo-Platonism, especially as developed by Origen's great teacher, Ammonius Saccas, offered many welcome departures from ancient pagan thought, e.g., that matter is not eternal, that the world of things is owing to free acts of creation by an omnipotent, provident God, that the soul is not a slave of the body or of necessity. That in some instances Origen should also yield too much to his pagan environment, to "diluted Platonism," is very understandable. He gave serious offense. Besides, Origen had been ordained irregularly, and he was forced to leave Alexandria in 230. His brilliant *jeunesse* had come to an end. But the gloom of the hour did not break the man. He did not become a heretic. Presently he was working again on his *Commentary* on the Fourth Gospel, interrupted at Alexandria. Once again the great Christian thinker and believer was an ardent follower of the maxim, *intellige, ut credas.*

Besides a most sympathetic and convincing portrait of Origen, Cadiou's monograph contains a number of painstaking studies of individual problems, e.g., concerning the dates of certain works, the authenticity of certain summaries of Ammonius' philosophy, the relations of Origen and Plotinus, the theory of two or three Origens. An excellent work such as this by a young priest-scholar certainly deserved to be translated, and translated well; we wished for it a translation such as Batiffol's *L'Église naissante* received from the pen of H. L. Brianceau.

Southwell's English version of *La jeunesse* runs smoothly. To achieve this, he has treated the pithy French original rather freely. He adds, supplies, interprets, rearranges sentences, adds numerous topical captions, and Cadiou's eleven chapters have become nineteen. A work of such scientific character and permanent worth should, it seems to the reviewer, have been treated with more deference and with greater fidelity to the original. As illustrating the translator's penchant to add detail and color, an example occurring on the first page may be quoted: "There is a story that, when he [Leonidas] used to approach the bedside of his sleeping son, he would see on the boy's breast the mark of consecration by the Holy Ghost and would kiss the spot with reverence." One wonders what this visible "mark of consecration" may have been, and the reader is almost prompted to think in terms of the ancient Christian charisms. Nothing is known of it by Cadiou, who wrote: "Il s'approchait, dit-on, de l'enfant endormi, découvrait sa poitrine consacrée par l'Esprit-Saint, et la baisait avec respect" (p. 8). Nor does Eusebius, from whom the incident is taken, give any indication of such a mark. One further example: speaking of Origen's method of teaching at Alexandria, Cadiou remarked: "Il fallut aussi qu'il aperçût le danger de l'enthousiasme démesuré que son intellectualisme excitait chez ses disciples" (p. 77). This is amplified by Southwell as follows: "*In those early years* there was yet another danger which he was quite unaware of, the danger inherent in the unbridled enthusiasm aroused in his pupils by his own *extreme* intellectualism" (p. 61, italics the reviewer's).

Another matter worthy of mention are the translations of the numerous quotations cited from the writings of Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and others. If many of the English versions are adopted, with very few minor changes, from those found in the collection, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* is it quite proper to make no acknowledgment whatever of such indebtedness?

It is likewise deplorable that Cadiou's excellent apparatus of notes has been sacrificed almost in its entirety. The few fragments of notes that remain are unsatisfactory, too. E.g., in identifying passages in Origen, Cadiou refers the reader to both the *PG* and Berlin editions, while the translation retains only the former references. For the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, the Frenchman refers one, indicating page and

line, to the superb edition by Stählin only; the translator here, too dispenses with the critical (and only) text indication, thus blandly inviting the reader to consult, e.g., *Strom.* V, 4 (p. 37). Dig out the sentence yourself—it is somewhere in Stählin's edition, pp. 338-342. On page 59 the strangulation of a note (Cadiou, p. 75, n. 1) results in the confusion of Chapter XV of Gregory's panegyric of Origen, with Volume XV of the *PG*. In another instance the excision of a note is compensated for in this manner: Cadiou interrupts a quotation with an "a-t-on dit" and records his source as: "René Schwob, *Moi, Juif*, p. 251" (p. 55). In the translation both elements are fused in the text thus: "It has been said by a Jewish critic that . . ." (p. 41). As already indicated, the translation itself flows in a polished and engaging style. It reflects diligent and skillful labor, and is offered in an attractive, almost spotless garb (only a half-dozen misprints were noted). All the more is it to be regretted that Cadiou was thus dressed up, while at the same time losing so much in his transference to us. The comparison is perhaps little justified; but one is reminded of Origen's own fate at the hands of the translator Rufinus.

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St. Dominic and His Work. By PIERRE MANDONNET, O.P. Translated by Sister Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. xviii, 487. $5.00.)

At the time of his death in 1936 Pierre Mandonnet was, without doubt, the world's most outstanding authority on early Dominican history. An exceptional knowledge of documents pertaining to his field and an uncanny intuitive sense combined to enhance his reputation in the learned world. But he always found writing difficult and, although the author of some important monographs and articles, he had failed to compose the monumental work on the beginnings of his order which had been expected from same entitled, *Saint Dominique, l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (1921), for a spiritual collection printed in Belgium. His literary executor, Marie-Humbert Vicaire, O.P., assisted by Reginald Ladner, O.P., decided to issue a revision of his work, enlarging it with footnotes and further scholarly studies of Mandonnet, some of which had to be completed from mere outlines left by their revered master. Before his demise, the latter had approved of the project. It was a second best choice. In the foreword Père Vicaire humbly acknowledges a consciousness "of a certain temerity in attempting to transform into a learned and critical work what was written with the freedom of style authorized by the literary genre of a booklet." But he was convinced that "however fragmentary the sketches here collected" and "however considerable" the personal contribution of the editors, the final result did "not fall too far short of the concept" of Pierre Mandonnet. Such is the origin of

St. Dominic and His Work. It must be noted, however, that because of their limited appeal to historical specialists five of the most abstruse and technical studies have been omitted from the English edition. The book is divided into two parts: (1) St. Dominic and the Order of Preachers; (2) From the Rule of St. Augustine to the Rule of St. Dominic. Six supplementary studies make up the appendixes, of which the most unusual is probably the last under the title *"Domini Canes."* A reproduction of the famous painting of St. Dominic in Santa Sabina, Rome, serves as a frontispiece. There is a bibliography and an index.

Of the twenty-five chapters that constitute *St. Dominic and His Work,* the first fifteen make the most interesting reading, but some of the topics are handled in too summary a manner. Not every one will agree that the bishops and secular clergy represent the static element in the Church and religious orders the dynamic (p. 7). The same may be said of the claim that the Society of Jesus reflects in its constitutions the political absolutism of the period in which it was founded (p. 10). The author's assertion that there was no preaching (pp. 8-9) at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries is later modified to "almost no preaching, properly so-called" (p. 94). Subsequently the matter is discussed in a scholarly way in a special chapter, "The Plight of Preaching in the Twelfth Century" (pp. 120-138). But not all objectionable statements are corrected in this fashion. Thus of St. Dominic the author says: "His was a zeal and a faith which the Church had not found in any of his contemporaries" (p. 41). Many would not approve of this in view of the fact that St. Francis of Assisi was living at the time. Derogatory references to Robert Kilwardby and Giles of Rome (pp. 82-88) will confuse the ordinary reader. The list of Dominican saints (pp. 107-109) is repetitious and inadequate. There are a few inaccuracies in the translation of the rule of St. Augustine of which the most obvious is "Let no one do anything for himself alone" instead of "Let no one claim anything as his own" (Nemo sibi aliquid suum vindicet proprium) (p. 220). References to Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* usually omit mention of the volume, nor does the bibliography list the number of volumes for Fliche, Hauck, Mansi, etc.

It is a pleasure to turn from these minor points to a consideration of the more impressive sections of this remarkable collection of studies. Among other passages historians will note the following: "Monasticism accomplished its mission by adapting itself, in its own way, to the feudal regime. The abbey, like the manor, was a center of agricultural toil; and the monk, whose life was elevated by prayer and the Christain virtues, was nevertheless a serf of the Church, engaged in the cultivation of the soil. "They are true monks," wrote St. Benedict. "if they live by the labor of their hands." As the serf was legally bound to the land, so by his vow of stability the monk belonged to the domain of his abbey (p. 7).

Striking as is the chapter on "The Academic Crisis at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century," this reviewer was most impressed by Mandonnet's clarification of the original rule of St. Augustine with its two commentaries as well as by his exposition of the legislation of St. Dominic and the first Friars Preachers (pp. 195-352). The easy manner in which the author rectifies an error of Denifle is an evidence of the profound scholarship here displayed. Moreover, the discussion enlarges the appeal of the book to include all the orders and congregations which, like the Dominicans, have drawn their rule from St. Augustine. If for no other reason than that it makes available in English the latest results of European scholarship on several important religious matters, this excellent volume would deserve a place in every library.

RAYMOND J. GRAY

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James Laynez, Jesuit. By JOSEPH H. FICHTER, S.J. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. vii, 299. $3.00.)

Any one who has studied more than superficially the Council of Trent cannot but have been curious to know more intimately him, who has rightly been called the council's foremost theologian. Not that this role exhausts the claims of James Laynez to distinction. His prodigious work as first successor of St. Ignatius in guiding the early destinies of the Society of Jesus, his pioneering labors in education, his activity as preacher, and as a social worker, spending his free time in hospitals and institutes wherever he happened to be, are, almost any one of them, sufficient to make him great. But the most impressive of his claims is undoubtedly the influence that he wielded in the Church's greatest council, the repect that he commanded, the dominating part that he played. And unfortunately, up to the present time, very little has been written about him, at least in English, while works in other languages are hardly satisfactory.

Father Fichter has, therefore, filled a need in this life of the second general of his Society and the Pope's "own man" at the Council. And he has accomplished his task extremely well. His story is told in an interesting manner, much that could have been extremely tedious has been omitted or condensed, and the division of chapters into sub-headings enhances considerably the readableness of the book. There are times when one would welcome somewhat fuller summaries of Laynez' discourses in order to understand better the trend of his arguments, or longer quotations from his speeches in order to judge better his style, though admittedly the problem of selection is difficult.

The author draws for the most part on the sources made available through the archives of the Society of Jesus, *Monumenta Historica Socie-*

tatis Jesu and on the *Disputationes Tridentinae* of Grisar, and though at first blush it seems a defect to use hardly at all the *Acts* of the council and the many works on it—at least for that part of his story—the author's apparent neglect is justified by the fact that little of a personal nature concerning Laynez is to be found in them, and practically nothing appears there that is not in the sources that he did use.

Throughout the book, Father Fichter remains always carefully objective. He treats critically and rejects a number of unfounded reports—e.g., that of Laynez' candidature for the Papacy—which were accepted by some less critical admirers of the great theologian. The author does not gloss over his subject's defects—the impetuosity that rendered him once or twice the object of St. Ignatius' displeasure, his earlier over-exacting ways with the young scholastics, which, too, were the object of a reproof from his general, and his displays of temper with his opponents. And yet, we never lose the impression of the sterling greatness of the man, as evidenced by his humility, his characteristically Jesuit spirit of prompt obedience, his quick repentance, his heroic effort to correct his defects, his love of poverty, and his devotion to his studies. One cannot but marvel at his zeal and the multiplicity of his activities which would seem almost incredible were they not attested by reliable documents. Moreover, his gifts as a speaker were nothing short of unique, when we consider that he could hold not only large lay audiences, but even the cold and discriminating fathers of the council spellbound for three or four hours.

For the uninitiated reader, more information on the political conditions in France that influenced the action of that country's delegation to the council, would be helpful. And one desiring to use the book for reference or as an aid to source-reading finds himself handicapped by the lack of a general bibliography. There is, however, a very thorough and helpful index. And there is an appendix containing a number of original documents from contemporary authors on Laynez, as well as from Laynez' own writings, that are very aptly chosen. Among these latter, most interesting and appropriate to our present time is Laynez' "Advice to a Military Leader," in which he exhorts the then viceroy of Sicily "to depend upon Divine Wisdom and Power rather than upon human," and yet to use every human means lest he tempt the divine Majesty.

Father Fichter's work is a valuable contribution to church history, and we hope to see more from his pen.

BERNARD E. RANSING

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The General Who Rebuilt the Jesuits. By ROBERT G. NORTH, S.J. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. xii. 292. $3.00.)

John Roothaan, subject of the present biography, was general of the Jesuits from 1829 to 1853. Though an important figure during the past century, his name is not given in the ordinary histories of the Church and even MacCaffrey's work, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century,* mentions him only in passing.

Born at Amsterdam in 1785, Roothaan's boyhood was passed amid events hardly less stirring than those of our own day. In order to become a Jesuit he had to travel 1600 miles to White Russia (Poland), the only place in the world at the time where the link between the old and the new Society of Jesus was preserved unbroken. There he completed his novitiate and higher studies; he was ordained to the priesthood in the very year that Napoleon began his unfortunate invasion of Russia. In 1820, by order of Emperor Alexander I, he and his confreres were expelled from the country. After travelling for three months, Roothaan finally arrived in Switzerland where he labored for the next three years mainly as a missionary. From 1823 to 1829 he was given the difficult assignment of running a college in Turin, then a hotbed of anti-clericalism.

In 1829 Roothaan was elected general at the comparatively early age of forty-four. The twenty-four years of his generalate were reminiscent at times of those of Ricci, his ill-fated predecessor at the time of the suppression in 1773. For during this period the Jesuits were driven from Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, parts of Italy, and in France their educational work was greatly hampered by the government. Roothaan himself, when old and poor in health, was obliged to leave Rome in 1847 in disguise and to remain in exile for over two years.

Despite these unfavorable external circumstances, Roothaan established many Jesuit communities in foreign lands and fostered the tremendous growth of the Society in the United States. To him belongs the credit for revising the *Ratio Studiorum* to fit modern needs and for awakening greater interest in the *Spiritual Exercises* by his new translation and commentary. Finally, by his deeply spiritual circular letters to his confreres and by his own saintly example, he succeeded in strengthening the internal life of the renascent Society. The title, "The General Who Rebuilt the Jesuits" is not undeserved.

Father North has written a popular biography and at times dramatizes his source material by means of conversations, not always free from American slang. Almost all the chapter headings have some connection with military life, such as "K.P.," "Headquarters on Wheels," etc. The similarity between the life of Roothaan and that of a soldier who becomes commander-in-chief is occasionally a little far-fetched.

The primary and secondary works which the author consulted are mentioned. One significant omission is Schmidlin's three volume work, *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*. There is a splendid index. As in most popular biographies, the references are given at the back of the book, but the system here followed calls for special mention. Let us take the first reference that occurs. 7 20: Neu 1. This means that North's authority for what he says on line 20 of page 7 is page 1 of Neu's life of Roothaan in German. But since the references are not numbered in the text, the reader is himself obliged to count to line 20 of page 7. Such a method of citing one's sources is very inconvenient and worthy neither of admiration nor imitation.

The author makes some statements which can easily be challenged. For example, the Empress Maria Theresa did not sign a secret compact to have the Jesuits suppressed (p. 31); in 1776 the Russian Jesuits asked permission of the Holy See to admit former members of the Society, not to open a novitiate (p. 35); the so-called veto in a papal conclave can hardly be designated as a "right" granted to the Holy Roman Emperor (p. 32), for it was rather an abuse that the Holy See had to tolerate to avoid greater evils for the Church. The King of Piedmont in 1802 was Charles Emmanel IV, not Charles Emmanuel II (p. 116). In speaking of Gioberti's book, *Il Gesuita Moderno*, escaping papal condemnation in 1847, the author might have added that in 1852, while Roothaan was still alive, the *opera omnia* of Gioberti were placed on the Index of Forbidden Books.

These are only minor criticisms. Father North deserves high praise for the first biography in English of a man who deserves to be better known. Only when monographs like his have been published will it be possible to write a history of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century that will satisfy all the canons of modern historical criticism.

STEPHEN MCKENNA

Mount Saint Alphonsus Seminary
Esopus

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Beloved Crusader, Lawrence Flick, M.D. By ELLA MARIE FLICK. (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co. 1944. Pp. 390. $3.50.)

The title of this biography was well chosen. It expresses Dr. Flick's twofold position in life: his relation to his family and his position in the scientific world. In his home life he was exceedingly beloved and this work is the fruit of the devotion of a gifted daughter who had already written a short biography of him in 1940 at the request of the White Haven Sanatorium Association. In his professional field he was a pioneer, or as he himself preferred, "a crusader." He used this word fre-

quently in letters, publications, and conversations and he coined it especially for his campaign against tuberculosis. In the latter case, owing to his deep Christian faith, he attached a religious signification to it. Therefore, he wrote in 1906: "When I recovered from tuberculosis as a young man, I consecrated my life to the welfare of those afflicted with this disease and to the protection of those who had not yet contracted it. God blessed my endeavors with results I am well satisfied with. I have met with opposition but I am rather proud of the enemies I have made" (pp. 225-226). He believed himself to be a "doctor by the grace of God."

The book is of special value because the author quotes so frequently and extensively from her father's letters, diaries, and publications that it may almost be called an autobiography from his correspondence. The work could well be divided into two main parts: his biography and his work.

The first (pp. 1-174) gives the genealogies of the Flick-Stone families and his various experiences in early life until he married a convert from Quakerism and settled as a doctor in Philadelphia. Even here his researches as an historian predominate and he reveals that many thought that he had a vocation for the priesthood, but for a time he read law with Benjamin Brewster and finally became a physician. During his early life he was twice stricken with tuberculosis and he conquered the malady by heroic efforts as a farmer at his home and a laborer in an orange grove in California. His diary as an intern at the Blockley Almshouse in Philadelphia (pp. 67-112) can well be included in this course of instruction and it shows the early spirit of a crusader.

The second part (pp. 174-382) contains three main subjects: his successes in medicine, his interest in history, and his attempts in furthering Catholic journalism. The chapter on his triumphs in combating tuberculosis is undoubtedly the most fascinating and valuable of the whole work, as his name will always be connected with the early attacks on the "white plague." The author gives the story almost entirely with the doctor's own words, dividing it into five parts with the following titles: Running autobiographical accounts of his crusade against tuberculosis, excerpts from his European diary, early tuberculosis data, Phipps Institute and Congress data, and the T.B. ward in Douglas (Negro) Hospital.

The very first words of the doctor's note book reveal his spirit of a crusader. He wrote: "I began my campaign in January, 1888, with a thesis on the Hygiene of Phthysis. I met opposition and from then I fought for the doctrine of contagiousness of tuberculosis" (p. 175). Then there is given in a dramatic way how Mr. Henry Phipps of Pittsburgh became interested in his work through Mr. Torrance, president of the Board of Charities of Pennsylvania. He was full of praise of the philanthropist, yet firm when he saw principles at stake. To give one incident: "When

I told him of my prospect of getting a small clinic in Lombard Street, he urged me to buy the property. Buy the block, he said, I will stand back of you, but I must insist on you taking a rest. He asked me to go to Europe with him and pleaded so with my wife that she persuaded me to go" (p. 184).

This trip resulted in the founding of the Phipps Institute for the Study, Treatment and Prevention of Tuberculosis after he had consulted eminent authorities on this subject in Europe. Unfortunately, Mr. Phipps was later influenced by others to change the plans and Dr. Flick decided to retire from the directorship. How little he blamed the philanthropist may be seen from the fact that in 1937 (Phipps had died in 1930) he dedicated *Tuberculosis,* his *opus magnum,* to "Annie Henry Phipps whose friendship and patronage on the crusade against tuberculosis furthered my work."

This sojourn in Europe in 1902 became also the crusade for bringing the first International Congress for Tuberculosis to America. In a second trip in 1905 to such a meeting at Paris he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the directors. It convened in Washington in 1908 with President Theodore Roosevelt as its honorary president and many European celebrities in attendance. It is with pardonable pride that his daughter quotes from the letter of Dr. Howard Kelly of Johns Hopkins, Baltimore: "Dear Dr. Flick: I want to thank you in the name of the entire Profession of the country for the recent culmination of your wonderful work in Philadelphia, at the meeting in Washington" (p. 333).

The chapter, "The American Historical Society," is short, the reviewer might say too short, but it is very instructive. It proves that Dr. Flick can also be called a crusader in the realm of Catholic history in Pennsylvania. He contributed a number of valuable articles to various journals and especially gathered sources in the Society's home on Spruce Street, which was largely his creation. He loved to take visitors to that storehouse of historical material and especially point out the case in which he had gathered for years the most and the best about the prince-priest, Demetrius Gallitzin. His biographer pictures vividly his heartache when all this was transferred from old Philadelphia to which it belonged and where he lived, to the new Overbrook Seminary. This love for history was also the reason why he was chosen at Cleveland in December, 1919, as first president of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The word crusader can also be applied to his third great work, the founding of a daily Catholic newspaper. However, he might be compared with those crusaders of old who started for the Holy Land without due preparations and, therefore, were unable to reach it. The author calls this aim correctly "a dream of a Catholic paper" and explains the difficulties which

stood in the way. One is missing: the doctor had even in mind, as he told the reviewer, repeatedly, an independent Catholic news-service, and he attempted to bring such a one about by conferences with Catholic editors while he was in Europe. But it remained only a dream.

Undoubtedly the selection of the material for *Beloved Crusader* from such a wealth of sources as the doctor had collected, must have been one of the main problems of the writer. However, the list of the many publications which was given in the earlier and shorter work of 1940 would have increased the value of this present volume. A few geographical inaccuracies in the first part can easily be pardoned. It was a work of love and it will be read by many with the same spirit, especially those whose life was prolonged by Dr. Flick's eminent learning in his profession and others who must admire the interpid faith with which he looked upon his work.

FELIX FELLNER

St. Vincent College

Thomas Francis Meehan (1854-1942). A Memoir. By SISTER M. NATALENA FARRELLY. [Monograph Series. Volume XX.] (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1944. Pp. 139. $3.00.)

The United States Catholic Historical Society has done honor to itself as well as to Thomas Francis Meehan by making this memoir of its illustrious member Number XX in its Monograph Series. For Mr. Meehan, Knight of St. Gregory, was, until his death in July, 1942, one of the leading American Catholic historians in the United States. Though not the author of any single great work, Meehan's wide and painstaking historical research has saved much of Catholic Americana which the few real Catholic historians who preceded him were too busy to gather.

Sister Natalena in this volume sketches Mr. Meehan's life and gives a full account of his historical writings. The third and last chapter she has very properly left to Francis X. Talbot, S.J., until recently editor-in-chief of *America*, who, as intimate and associate of Mr. Meehan for twenty years, tells the story of his relation with that review.

Having been known to each of the five archbishops of New York, Meehan was born and lived his whole life in the immediate neighborhood of that archbishopric. Trained, influenced, employed, and honored by the Society of Jesus, Mr. Meehan evidenced a Catholic faith and a Catholic culture which was transparent in his religious, social, and literary life. His journalistic career, which led him to write for the Baltimore *Sun*, the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, the Richmond *Times*, *De Massabode* (Rotterdam, Holland), the New York *Herald*, the New York *Sun*, the New York *Star*, the *Irish American*, Brooklyn *Eagle*, Brooklyn *Citizen*, and other journals, well fitted him for his invaluable assistance in editing and writing both for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and the *Catholic Builders of The Nation*.

Besides being an authority on early Catholic newspapers, Mr. Meehan had, along with his historical learning, a prodigious memory. This made him a fountain of knowledge to which literally hundreds of students and authors came to draw copious draughts of cheerfully-given information, inspiration, and encouragement. American history is notably poorer because humility and press of daily work prevented his setting down his recollections in organized form. The only part of his own life about which he wrote deals with the founding and editing of Volume L, No. I, of *America*. This sketch Mr. Meehan finished the day before he died.

It is no slight to the major narrative portion of Sister Natalena's work to say that the most important part of her book is the careful and exhaustive list of Meehan's productions which appears as the bibliography in an appendix. This is a rich vein of American Catholic history which could be profitably mined by students. A second appendix, which contains excerpts from Meehan's writings, mentions a "Rev. John Austin," whose full name should be John Austin Hill (p. 117). Three illustrations, a frontispiece, and an adequate index complete a well-printed volume, free from typographical errors.

DANIEL F. REILLY

Providence College

GENERAL HISTORY

The Condition of Man. By LEWIS MUMFORD. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1944. Pp. x, 467. $5.00.)

"For more than fifteen hundred years, our Western World has been dominated by the personality and the myth of Jesus of Nazareth" (p. 17). Thus writes Lewis Mumford of the School of Humanities at Stanford University in this, his latest book, much acclaimed by the liberals of our day. Recommended as it has been in superlatives by professional critics and critical professors as a book that contains so much usable truth for our generation, the work will readily find its way as a "must book" into the libraries and lecture halls of our colleges and universities and into the homes of our intellectually-emancipated.

Mr. Mumford has long been in labor. With what result? A book that parades under a false title. Had it been called "Mumford's Modern Mythology or How Not To Write History," it would have been more properly named. Under whatever title in times past Mr. Mumford laid claim to a reputation as scholar or thinker or social philosopher, *The Condition of Man* — the third volume in a series that opened with *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and was followed by *The Culture of Cities* (1938) — definitely clears him from such claims and now firmly establishes his reputation as an highly imaginative writer of fictional mythology.

Protestants, perhaps, may be inclined to accept as devastating his conclusions on the nature and growth of Catholicism. Catholics may be led to applaud to the echo his sweeping denunciations of the Protestant theory: . . . "the right of private judgment went to the people's heads: precisely those who knew least about the history of the Christian Church and its doctrines felt themselves able, with the sanction of the Bible, to speak in a new voice of certainty; . . . once the medieval search for truth was abandoned, Protestantism lost its power to prevail" (pp. 195 ff). Both Protestant and Catholic readers soon come to realize that whatever respect Mr. Mumford has for certain aspects of Catholicism or Protestantism, he has no respect for or understanding of the supernatural claims of Christianity. That Jesus is divine, is a myth; that the Bible as divine revelation is the word of God, is balderdash; that the modern Church represents the teachings of Jesus, is historical jargon. The rationalists, liberals, and freethinkers in our midst will find much aid and comfort in Mr. Mumford's demolition of everything and anything savoring of faith in things divine. But for those who believe that Jesus is God, *The Condition of Man* is just one more tragic compilation of errors and half-truths.

Mr. Mumford finds time and place for words of passing praise for some of the great saints of the Church: Augustine, Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola. But ever and always there is a sneer running through the evaluation which sooner or later trickles down to show that they all "play a part in the political calculations of the Vatican and partly account for the various shifts and stratagems Rome employed to make smooth the path of totalitarian conquest during the last generation" (p. 221). " . . . Mussolini, Hitler, Franco have all been the beneficiaries of Gregory's doctrine" (p. 102).

Mr. Mumford's guiding light in historical interpretation, Freud and Freudianism, illuminates for him the gloomy corridors of western civilization. Chapter VI, "Uprising of the Libido," the turning point in the book, explains . . . "the dissolution of the medieval synthesis" that "had given rise to a counter-movement: an uprush of the libido, an intensification of the senses, an introduction of the mind to its own labyrinths, an expansion of every activity that promoted animation, joy, bodily exhuberance." Unfortunately, mammonism and mechanism grew out of the libido and produced the chaos and the confusion of our present unhappy era. The ids and the egos and the super-egos burst out into a witches' brew of global devastation. We now know full well at what cost.

It is a sad commentary on the intellectual status of the United States that some of the accepted serious scholars who have the public ear enthusiastically recommend, in paid advertisements, *The Condition of Man* as a worthwhile contribution to the historical reorientation of modern man. One can readily understand the position of staff reviewers. Log-rolling

has long been a commercial art. That the *optimi* have fallen into the trap is one more sign of the scholastic prostitution of our day. The piping prophets of the false gods of the enlightenment have learned nothing and, alas, have forgotten nothing. Among them Mr. Mumford pipes well.

JOSEPH L. O'BRIEN

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The Ship of Fools. By SEBASTIAN BRANT. Translated into Rhyming Couplets with Introduction and Commentary by EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. [Columbia University Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 399. $5.75.)

Satire often bears too deep an impress of its own age to be of much interest to those who live in another day. The satirist who looks on his contemporaries with sardonic eyes, may with comparative ease compel the men of his time to attend to his mockery, but he must be rich in salt and powerful in expression if he is to outlast his own generation. Like the works of Juvenal and Swift, Sebastian Brant's *Das Narrenschiff* has survived the test of time.

Brant's work is the product of a period of epochal changes — the watershed between the mediaeval, and what we may, perhaps, still call the modern world. Mind clashed on mind. New worlds were rising from the oceans. The newly-invented printing press was glutted with all the treasures of the past of western man. Many Europeans looking back across the centuries wondered if even the ancient world were not new with a weird newness. As they read the records of the past, the emphasis in religion, politics, and culture seemed almost totally different from those of mediaeval man. With practically no understanding of the development of thought and institutions, they saw in the immediate past and present a distorted picture. This would, of course, be particularly true of the satiric temper. For the satirist survivals were apt to be worse than abuse. And, of course, abuses were not wanting.

Sebastian Brant was a Strassburger who studied law, languages, and art at the University of Basel. His *Narrenschiff*, first printed in 1494 (and reprinted on an average of one edition in the original language or in translation every six years in the four hundred and fifty years which have passed since that time), pillories many kinds of foolishness. For Brant the world swarms with fools: unjust judges, misers, fools for fashion, who disgrace the German nation, false friends, fools for love, fools for drink, lazy students, slothful teachers, gossips, worriers who are bothered by geese going barefoot, procrastinating fools, beggars who are richer than those from whom they collect, relic-mongers who sell straw from the crib of

Bethlehem and feathers from the wings of the Archangel Michael, faithless wives and grasping peasants who force their sons into holy orders for worldly gain. Although a staunch Catholic and an enthusiastic supporter of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Brant does not hesitate to criticize sharply worldly churchmen and antiquated ecclesiastical institutions. He is also humble enough to put himself in the ship sailing to Narragonia, the kingdom of the fools.

We would err grievously, however, were we to look upon *Das Narrenschiff* as giving a true description of the conditions of the time. The satirist is a special pleader and his testimony must be closely scrutinized. This is true of more than satirists for the period previous to the Religious Revolt. The cosmic changes which were occurring often prevented anything like a balanced judgment of the times by contemporaries.

Mr. Zeydel has given us the first complete English translation of the famous work. In the sixteenth century two versions did appear but they are "very free adaptations based upon the Latin and French editions." The translator has retained the original verse form which is that of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*. It was, perhaps, not to be expected that such a translation would be completely satisfactory. In addition to the rhyming couplets, Mr. Zeydel has given us a good introduction, an excellent bibliography, and a brief commentary and he has reproduced the original woodcuts, many of which are very fine. There is an index.

EDWARD A. RYAN

Woodstock College

Four Score Years: An Autobiography. By G. G. COULTON. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. viii, 378. $4.50.)

For many years now Dr. Coulton has held a prominent place among English mediaevalists. His controversial methods, to which he himself attaches great importance, have not commended themselves to all his readers; his own preconceptions concerning the nature of the Catholic Church, both in the Middle Ages and at the present time, are no less evident than those which he habitually attributes to his critics and opponents; and his conclusions, which are often stated in the sharpest and most provocative terms, have not always been acceptable, even to men whose philosophy does not differ greatly from his own. But few of his readers, whether or not they agree with his views on life in the Middle Ages, will fail to be charmed by this record of his long and active career.

Dr. Coulton has had the opportunity, or more accurately he has made the opportunity, of travelling widely in England and in Europe during some sixty or more of the most eventful years in human history. He

has a strong and retentive memory, a keen sense of the relevant in any scene or situation, and a gift for describing what he has seen and heard in prose that is a delight to read. That combination has made of his autobiography, so long as it remains simply an autobiography, a book of unusual interest, and one that is likely to be of permanent value to the student of English social history during the past two generations. The interest is enhanced by a number of excellent photographs and sketches, many of these last by Dr. Coulton himself.

Beyond that, the book is a record of the making of a historian. Dr. Coulton has reached his present position in the academic world by a route somewhat different from that travelled by most men. His career as a student was undistinguished, and he left Cambridge, after what he describes as the three idlest years of his life, without much training or preparation for the work in which he was eventually to engage.

He took orders in the Anglican Church, and served for a time as a curate in a country parish. But he abandoned the clerical life, following an intellectual crisis which is here related; and for the next thirty years he wandered about, holding various teaching posts in several of the less well-known English public schools. Time and means were found for European travel, and some of the accounts of these wanderings in Italy, France, and Switzerland are memorable bits of descriptive writing. Service in Heidelberg as teacher and chaplain in an English academy brought him into contact with German militarism. That experience, supplemented by his knowledge of the people's army in Switzerland, made him an advocate of compulsory military training in Great Britain; and for many years before 1914 he spent much time campaigning on this subject.

His interest in mediaeval studies developed gradually. From the beginning it was directed in general to social history, and in particular to mediaeval religion and life in the monasteries. His work in a cramming establishment — his last position before returning to Cambridge — gave him the means and leisure to pursue his study more systematically; and marriage, as he relates, provided the incentive for hard work. His first important work, *Salimbene's Chronicle, From St. Francis to Dante,* appeared in 1906. *Chaucer and His England, A Medieval Garner,* and *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation,* the books which first established his reputation, were published in the next few years. To many it will be matter for regret that the autobiography ends with Dr. Coulton's return to Cambridge shortly before the beginning of the last war. An account of what he calls his *vita nuova* in the university during and after the war would have been one of the most interesting chapters of these memoirs.

The closing chapters contain a defense of the author's theory of "controversy" as a means of discovering historical truth, a re-statement of his

old quarrel with Cardinal Gasquet, and an explanation of his personal religion. The argument on controversy is not very convincing. Dr. Coulton's services to history have been great; but many scholars have performed services equally great, without indulging in such embittered controversy and without assuming a state of incorrigible and unrepentant dishonesty in those who persist in disagreeing with them. Somewhere in these pages Dr. Coulton observes that character is more important than pure intellect, even in matters which appear to be wholly intellectual. On that note we may close this book. In Cambridge and in the University of Toronto, which has been privileged to act as host to Dr. Coulton during the past few years, there are many, both students and colleagues, who will recall with pleasure the kindly and courteous teacher and scholar long after the controversy has been forgotten.

DONALD J. MCDOUGALL

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Canterbury Cathedral Priory. A Study in Monastic Administration. By R. A. L. SMITH, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xi, 237. $3.75.)

Mediaeval Canterbury possessed two famous Benedictine monasteries whose origin went back to the mission of St. Augustine. Of these, Christ Church was not fully monastic for the first four centuries; its church was the archbishop's cathedral, and the community included the clerks of his official entourage; at times some of these were monks, at times all were secular clergy, and the life was only quasi-regular. But in 997 Archbishop Aelfric introduced a regular monastic community, and such it remained until the suppression in 1540. The archbishops held the position of abbot; but when they ceased to be monks the priors received most of an abbot's power and privileges.

The priory had a large endowment, for most of which it was indebted to Anglo-Saxon kings and nobles. During the period of which Dr. Smith writes, roughly two-thirds of its revenue came from its manors scattered through eight counties. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries about a quarter came from the offerings of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas, but by the fifteenth century these gifts dropped to a small amount. The rest came from various sources such as tithes, pensions, and advowsons.

The present volume is a study of the economic side of the priory's life, with only accidental sidelights on the religious and cultural aspects. A wealth of contemporary records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has survived, and material from this period forms the core of the book.

The author begins with four chapters on the administrative machinery within the monastery. Close to the year 1165 there was created a central treasury under four monk-treasurers, and this innovation formed the heart of a solid, businesslike system which, with some variations, gave the priory financial stability up to 1540. Most of the monastic income was paid into this central treasury, careful records and audits were made, and disbursements could be made only with the consent of the prior and the *maior et sanior pars* of the monks. The economic activities of the many monastic officials or obedienciaries are described, and the sizable staff of assistants which some of them had. In 1400 it seems that there were within the priory twice as many hired servants as monks. The treasurers did their auditing in an exchequer which was in many ways similar to the king's exchequer. The monks were often in debt, but seldom for an amount larger than a year's income; it was by borrowing that they financed large building enterprises. The creditors were at first mostly Jews, then the Italian merchants who played so important a part in English finance during the reigns of the first three Edwards, and finally native English merchants. Interest rates averaged between fifteen and twenty per cent. As a baron as well as the head of a great institution, the prior had a council from which he could seek expert advice; on it were some of the chief monastic officials and senior monks, and also a number of neighboring landowners and important London lawyers and judges.

A chapter is devoted to the "Liberty," that is, the territory over which the priory exercised civil jurisdiction as the local agent of the crown. The head of this administration was a steward, a layman of considerable importance. Dr. Smith finds that "the monks carried on the king's government with skill and efficiency."

Five chapters describe the rural economy of the estates held by the priory in Kent. Generally, no Christ Church monks lived on the scattered manors. Each manor was worked by local tenants and regularly hired labor under the direction of a serjeant (*serviens*). The manors were divided geographically into four custodies, two of which were in Kent, and for each custody a monk-warden was appointed whose duty it was to make the circuit of the estates under his charge twice a year, receiving the rents, inspecting buildings and work, and arranging for improvements. The Kentish manors had the obligation of supplying the monastery with food, and in addition there was a cash income from the rents of tenants and the sale of produce. The monks were good managers, the estates were kept in good condition, and in a few manors lying along the coast large sums of money were spent on embankments and drainage that turned swamps into farm land. Most of the Kentish estates were grain-growing, but it is interesting to discover that a record of *ca.* 1322 shows 10,000 sheep grazing

on them. It is the Cistercians rather than the Benedictines who are usually thought of as sheep farmers.

Some of the priors were outstanding. Henry of Eastry's long rule (1285-1331) marks what was in some ways the apogee of the priory's economic life and organization. Thomas Chillenden, another strong administrator, became prior in 1391 after having been one of the treasurers. He did away with the partial independence of the treasurers and brought finances under his own control. In his efforts to build the present nave of Canterbury cathedral he had to enlarge his income. This he partly accomplished by no longer working the demesne farms of the manors, but by leasing them out to farmers who paid a cash rent; in this the priory yielded to the common current of manorial change which it had resisted for half a century, and by it the monks became mere rentiers drawing a cash income from the land.

For the last century documents are not available in such quantity. The economic and administrative life seem to have continued along the lines that Chillenden established. In the later fifteenth century debts increased, and Christ Church shared the increasing luxury, independence, and secularism of other monasteries of the time.

Dr. Smith's book is as important to students of church history as to economists. Incidentally, especially in the third chapter, it gives concrete facts which reveal aspects of the internal daily life of the monastery. But more generally, it is essential that church historians should know more of the secular foundations and relations of ecclesiastical institutions than has sometimes been the case. Without such knowledge they will be sure to fail of a true evaluation and interpretation of both achievements and defects.

The author was a young scholar of great promise, and it is a matter of regret that a review of his first book should also have to tell of his death. He was a student of the late Professor Eileen Power at the University of London, and at that time he became a Catholic. His work was completed as a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

CARLETON M. SAGE

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MODERN HISTORY

Lord Herbert of Cherbury's De Religione Laici. Edited and translated by HAROLD R. HUTCHESON. [Yale Studies in English, Volume 93.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 199. $3.00.)

The title of this slender, scholarly volume is somewhat misleading. The text, translation, and commentary on Herbert's treatise, *De Religione Laici,* occupy less than sixty pages. The remainder of the book is devoted to

a biographical sketch derived largely from Cherbury's well-known *Autobiography*, a critical analysis of his *De Veritate*, which forms the basis of all his other philosophical and religious works, and an elaborate bibliography.

Dr. Hutcheson displays sound judgment in restraining a natural inclination to magnify the intellectual stature or historical importance of his subject. In fact, he introduces him to the reader with the blunt statement, "We shall find Lord Herbert of Cherbury in every respect, and notably in his philosophy and religion, distinctly an amateur. . . . And in spite of his being known for centuries as the 'famous' Lord Herbert, his real influence on posterity has been negligible." This seventeenth-century writer and statesman was not merely a highly complex personality, he was an anomaly. Despite his meager influence, he has been included in practically every history of philosophy and is usually referred to as "the father of English deists." Although he established reason rather than faith as the criterion of what he designated "beliefs essential to salvation," Herbert was not an intransigent deist. He did not claim absolute completeness for natural religion, "he merely asserted the folly of attempting to enforce universal faith in possible truths which, not being 'natural' and hence discoverable by 'right reason' could not secure universal consent." While no direct attack upon Christianity appears in the *De Religione Laici*, its author frequently betrays an attitude of skepticism regarding the authority of Scripture and the possibility of miracles. His lack of logical clarity and of adequate historical knowledge often make his treatment of a topic vague and his arguments unconvincing. On the contrary, Herbert's only historical work of any consequence, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, excites the admiration of the scholar because of its revelation of a painstaking study of sources, its impartiality, and its clarity of narration.

The editor's commentary on the text is, in the main, clear and objective. His analysis of the genesis of modern deism from the academies of Italian Protestantism through Castellion and Acontius to England appears to be historically accurate. While his primary aim of fidelity in translation has been creditably realized, there are occasional examples of poor selection of terminology. For instance, in the phrase, "beneficium sive divinum sive humanum," the meaning obviously is "blessing" and not "grace."

CLARENCE J. RYAN

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A Century of Jewish Life. By ISMAR ELBOGEN. Translated from the German by MOSES HADAS. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1944. Pp. xliii, 814. $3.00.)

This volume brings up to date the great work undertaken by Heinrich Graetz whose *History of the Jews* was published in 1870. The volume by

the late Professor Elbogen begins with the promise held forth by the emancipation movements of the early nineteenth century. In almost every country, Jews were in the forefront of the nineteenth-century liberal movement and in many cases they tended to develop the patriotism of their fellow countrymen. Like other religious groups, Jews found that many of the ideals of the eighteenth century when translated into nineteenth-century action, had a disturbing effect upon their religious life. The growth of tolerance often led to greater material prosperity for the Jews, but it was also accompanied by the development of religious indifferentism which led them to scorn the heritage of Judaism and to think in nationalist, materialist terms. In this respect they did not differ from all other peoples of western Europe.

Yet the growth of this tolerance for the Jews was very slow and no sooner was its promise fulfilled than it was overwhelmed by the fury of the new nationalisms which appeared at the end of the century. This newer nationalism, based upon racial concepts, produced an anti-Semitism which made all previous intolerance seem mild. This in turn gave birth to a distinct growth of nationalism in the Jews which took the form of Zionism. And Zionism in time led to an even greater intensification of nationalistic hatred of the Jews and spawned a crop of falsehoods concerning them. Lies based upon misquotations from the Talmud, ritual murder falsehoods, and finally the *Protocols of Zion* were grist for the mills of Pan Slavists, Pan Germans, Frenchmen eager to shows that Jews controlled their national life and were traitors, and Austrians who used attacks upon the Jews for political advantage. The Nazis were wholly without originality in their attacks upon the Jews. Practically all of their charges and most of their methods were used in the last decade of the nineteenth century by such figures as Drumont, editor of *La Libre Parole*, a sheet which antedated the obscenities and absurdities of Julius Streicher. The Christian Socialist Party of Karl Lueger in Austria might have had many worthy ends, but it will probably be remembered in history as the party whose leader supplied young Adolph Hitler with a political technique the aim of which was to defeat the moderation of Franz Joseph toward the Jews.

No country, however, pursued more repressive tactics towards the Jews than Russia, where the pogroms were initiated solely to cover up defects of the existing regime. This produced a migration of the Jews which enriched America particularly, but which at the same time gave rise to an anti-Semitism here which was almost European in its hatreds. As the concepts of racialism penetrated to American legislators, the result was an emigration law which aimed at the exclusion of non-Nordics. World War I only aggravated the lot of the Jews and with the rise of emigration barriers throughout the world, they turned more and more toward the land

they believed promised them in the Balfour Declaration. It seemed as though every attempt of the Jew to seek relief only intensified the nationalistic hatred exhibited toward him. In Palestine he found himself a pawn of world politics, hampered by British imperial aims on the one hand and the nascent nationalism of the Arabs on the other. The Zionist movement in turn was seized upon by the Nazis as proof that the Jews were not Germans primarily but were a separate nationality. The succession states of Europe all produced new varieties of the pogrom, the Poles manifesting an intolerance wholly inconsistent with their own history of oppression and suffering. America again was not immune as the Ku Klux Klan and Henry Ford's Dearborn *Independent* poured forth ideas wholly foreign to the American tradition.

Professor Elbogen's work is a monument of scholarship, quite befitting the subject of the work. By stressing the relationship of the Jews to the broad social, economic, political, and cultural life of Europe and America, he has made a tremendous contribution to the study of the history of the modern era. The erudition of the work is lightened by the insight manifested by the author. Written with a depth of feeling, the volume is filled, nevertheless, with a wealth of detail backed by learning. There are a few judgments, however, which the reviewer would question. It is on doubtful authority that Professor Elbogen relates that Pius IX "is reported to have said that he snapped his fingers at the whole world" (pp. 30-31). The case in question was that of a Jewish child, Edgar Mortara, baptised by a housemaid and seized by the military of Bologna at the instance of Church authorities. A great uproar resulted but Mortara himself rejected attempts to free him because, as Professor Elbogen admits, "he was unwilling to leave the Catholic faith." The fact that Mortara became a member of the hierarchy before his death in 1940 would seem to admit that there was less coercion than indicated by Professor Elbogen in this particular case and that it was not a general attack upon the Jews launched by Pius IX. In like fashion there is the statement to the effect that "When Pope Pius IX was irked by the diminishing prestige of the Catholic Church by reason of its loss of temporal power and by the opposition which the Vatican Council had met, he looked about for the opportunity for a counter-stroke. His rage fell upon Jewish journalists whose publications, he alleged, were obscene and slanderous and who gave currency to lies and reproaches against the Church" (p. 141). The ire of Pius IX was directed against anticlerical liberals rather than Jews as a whole. Professor Elbogen's work contains no reference to the statements made by Pius XI and Pius XII condemning racial doctrines put forth in Germany and Italy and advocating the acceptance of principles of toleration. In dealing with the Jews in America, the volume found no place for a description of the work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, an organization, which

might, in the long run, have a greater effect in producing amity between Christians and Jews than the Zionist movement.

Although the hatred of the Jews in Russia was intensified by World War I, it is not quite true to say "In Russia not a single one of the Jewish disabilities was abrogated" (p. 456). The tsar did finally get around to commissioning Jewish doctors in the army, not, however, out of the goodness of his heart. Barney Barnato, the diamond king of South Africa, came from New York rather than London (p. 320). Professor Elbogen's statement, that it was a service "to the common interest" when Bleichroder granted credit to Bismarck in 1870 without the delay attendant upon consultation of the German parliament (p. 85), might seem to some a bit strange to any other than a German patriot.

In general, one might say that the ills of the Jews are the ills of modern society. Persecution of the Jews in modern times is an outgrowth of modern nationalism, certainly aggravated by the present war. In fact, all of the problems which have tortured European Jewry have become intensified by the war. One of the great contributions of this volume might be the fact that by showing the historical genesis of Jewish problems, students may be better acquainted with the folly of anti-Semitism. Everyone interested in modern European history could gain a better knowledge of Europe's problems by reading this work.

JAMES M. EAGAN

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People, Church and State in Modern Russia. By PAUL B. ANDERSON. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. vii, 240. $2.50.)

The purpose of the author is not to write a history of the complicated interrelations between the people, the State, and the Church in contemporary Russia, but "to present the religious element in the process of change within the whole changing scheme, political, social, economic and philosophical." This would have been a very good approach if there were a definite correlation between the phases of the anti-religious policy of the Soviet government and the phases of its general policy. But the Church was, for the communists, an indepndent and major enemy. They attacked it when they could, the first time (1922-23) in the midst of a substantial retreat from communistic principles in economics; the second time (1929-30) simultaneously with the climax of the second attempt to make Russia a communist society; the third time (1937-38) parallel with another mitigation of communist principles in economics and with the first steps of fake democracy under the name of Stalin's constitution.

Mr. Anderson is unaware of this lack of basic correlation because he is not inclined to concede that there has been religious persecution in Russia,

although he underlines the inimical attitude of the Soviet government to the Church and correctly states that this attitude was oriented not toward the faults of Orthodoxy under the tsars, but to religion at any time and place.

A second source of misinterpretation is the author's use of the dialectical method of reasoning which is supposed to be that of Lenin and Stalin. The author seems to ignore the fact that, in the hands of Stalin, the dialectical method has become an exceedingly simple tool to explain any error and change in policy: yesterday's policy is termed thesis, the difficulties created by it, the antithesis, and Stalin's new policy, the synthesis. In any case, the dialectical method does not prevent Mr. Anderson from repeating one of the most common mistakes in the works about Russia under the communist regime: he sees logic and action according to plan where there have been desperate, almost convulsive efforts to find a way out of the difficulties created by the application of a preconceived social plan to a society absolutely unprepared to take it. It is excellent to know the method of reasoning of those whose policy one is studying, but it does not follow that the same method should be adopted for the final explanation of the events.

Mr. Anderson is also inclined to take at face value the political machinery created by the communists. He thinks that we should well distinguish between the party and the Soviets, ignoring the frequently recurring slogan: "The Party and the Soviets;" he speaks of "a considerable degree of personal liberty in 1936 and 1937," the years of the Great Terror. He believes that classes have been actually abolished in the Soviet Union, ignoring their reconstruction under new names; he goes so far as to assert that the constitution of 1936 has anticipated the principles of the Atlantic Charter, although he concedes that some of Stalin's liberties are "conditional."

The organization of the book is not very fortunate. Although it is not an historical treatise, the majority of chapters discuss events relating to definite years, but the periodization is unhappy, for the historical chapters are interrupted by chapters on special problems and, within the chapters, there are long digressions about pre-revolutionary events, so that, e.g., the very important Church renovation movement of the early twentieth century is discussed in the last chapter of the book. However, historians should be grateful to Mr. Anderson for having reproduced quite a few important, but not easily accessible documents, among them the pastoral letter of Patriarch Tykhon of January 18, 1918, the famous Solovetsk document (allegedly written by a group of exiled bishops in 1930), Metropolitan Sergius' memorandum of 1930, and the prosecution's statements in the Oryol trial (1937). He makes an excellent point in the last chapter

showing that, for very particular reasons, the annexations of the years 1939-40 have brought close together the three major elements of Russian life — people, Church, and State.

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AMERICAN HISTORY

Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris. Volume II. *Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.* By WALDO G. LELAND, JOHN J. MENG, and ABEL DOYSIÉ. [Publication No. 392.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1943. Pp. xii, 1078. Cloth, $4.00; paper, $3.50.)

All students of American history will warmly welcome this long-awaited second volume of the *Guide* to the libraries and archives of Paris, embodying as it does materials relating to American history in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Even a cursory examination of its contents will reveal the presence of a vast reservoir of documents — should these still be in existence after the destruction of records that apparently took place in 1940 at the Quai d'Orsay with the advance of the Germans upon Paris. Since the materials drawn upon for this volume relate exclusively to the period before 1860 and are, in consequence, of little importance in their bearing upon present-day issues, it may be hoped that these have survived and may still be available to students with the return of peace.

The arrangement of the book is excellent and the student is, therefore, in position to locate with ease materials relating to a particular period and a particular country. Further, the contents of each volume of manuscripts is sufficiently particularized so as to indicate the inclusion of correspondence, memoirs, and other documents of importance with the appropriate dates as well as the names of the writers given whenever available. It will be noted that in the case of such a country as England the documents of the Foreign Office here presented include those from 1558 to 1848; in the case of Spain, those from 1505 to 1846, and in the case of Holland, those from 1621 to 1819. These documents are arranged in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères in great series: (a) Correspondance Politique; (b) Correspondance Politique, Supplément; (c) Mémoires et Documents; and (d) Correspondance des Consuls. In turn each series is divided into *fonds* with the name of a particular state or area, as, e.g., Angleterre and Amérique.

The problem of selection was one of major importance, keeping in mind the specific objective of the series of guides in European archives projected by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. It involved in each case

an answer to the question: does this document throw important light on American history? The inclusion of materials relating to Latin America after 1818 shows that this was not narrowly interpreted. However, it is to be regretted that the French diplomatic correspondence involving Prussia and Austria during the period of the so-called reversal of alliances, 1754-1756 — a diplomatic revolution that had so profound an influence upon the history of North America in connection with the outcome of the Seven Years' War — was not included. Again, it may be regretted that in the appendices there was not included the important list of transcriptions of documents from the Foreign Office in the Public Archives of Canada as well as the list that appears of reproductions of documents in the Library of Congress. One may be perhaps permitted to urge the inclusion of such a list in the next volume to be published soon which will include the archives of the Ministry of War, the Hydrographic Service, and the Ministry of Marine. The names of Leland, Meng, and Doysié attached to the present volume are in themselves a guarantee of the high degree of competence exercised in its preparation.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

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Law Enforcement in Colonial New York: A Study in Criminal Procedure (1664-1776). By JULIUS GOEBEL, JR., George Welwood Murray Professor of Legal History, Columbia University School of Law, and T. RAYMOND NAUGHTON, of the New York Bar. (New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1944. Pp. xxxix, 867. $5.00.)

This imposing volume is the fruit of a long, if not very mellow, preoccupation with colonial legal history on the part of Professor Goebel. His principal authorship is to be discerned from the beginning of a long introduction to the end of a very long text. One fears that not too many people will bite into its heavy material, made no lighter by any conscious art of presentation, but it promises to be a necessary diet for the small but hardy fellowship of colonial legal historians — who, by the way, get very little friendly notice in the book.

There is no hesitation in the establishment of a point of view: the law of colonial New York was the law of an English jurisdiction, with a technical structure of an impressive complexity, something not to be lightly regarded as a spontaneous reaction to frontier social problems, and not to be dismissed as country justice without benefit of Blackstone. It was a mature jurisprudence, with the same ancestry as that of Westminster, and an eighteenth-century English lawyer would have found his learning fully as necessary in New York as at home. Little does Professor Goebel suspect that anyone might agree with him here, for it suits him better to pursue the matter down paths of controversy, belaboring old acquaintances and finding

a few new ones. If any lawyers, or "lay" historians, have ventured contributions, they can find in this book that their efforts are chiefly notable as models of error, marked with appropriate exclamation points. It takes a rugged sense of humor to learn from this master.

The main thesis does not require the labor which comes of fitting the legal procedure of colonial New York into a system modeled upon Sergeant Hawkins's *Pleas of the Crown*, but in justification it can be stated as true that any New York lawyer of the eighteenth century would have approved. For that smaller part of the history which treats of the seventeenth century, the presentation is even more of a strain and perhaps less justifiable. No less English — apart from some Dutch relics — the earlier procedure shows more evidence of local independence, and of intercolonial rather than transoceanic borrowings. For example, election of local "grandjurors" to make individual presentments at the Suffolk Sessions, in March, 1684 (p. 336), suggests an imitation of the established practice of Connecticut. In view of close kinship with inhabitants across Long Island Sound one wonders why Dr. Goebel declares it "patterned after the New Jersey or Massachusetts method." But the trend was rapid toward the adoption for the eighteenth century of the full panoply of English forms, an adoption which has a considerable political and constitutional significance.

For colonial New York it was distinctly the role of prerogative to declare the law. That is to say that reminiscent of a much earlier period of English legal history, "the judicial commission was . . . . the medium whereby the Crown had delegated its prerogative in matters judicial" (p. 42). Politically, it was expedient for the crown to restrict very narrowly the sphere of assembly action, with royal disallowance quite ruthless as far as any tampering with the courts was concerned. The assembly of 1692 had indeed made the general enactment for the judiciary, but this action was quite thrown into the shade by Bellomont's ordinance of 1699, which put an end to further legislative bickering on the subject and remained the basic authorization for the judicial structure thereafter. There was frequent but ineffective legislative protest, and the judges's commissions survived a very interesting legal challenge which formed a preliminary to the case of *King v. Zenger*. At that time the chief justice remarked to the attorney, William Smith: "You have brought it to that point that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar and therefore we exclude you and Mr. Alexander from the bar" (p. 50). The judicial arrogance was amply justified by the almost absolute supervisory power entrusted to the supreme court. Endowed with the characters of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, there was no let or hindrance to what it could do so long as some device could be found in the practice of one of those English courts. The result, as Professor Goebel points out, was a hierarchy rather than a congeries of competing jurisdictions (p. 315), and an articulation of courts much simpler

than in England (p. 323). But if supreme court powers fed upon English precedents for transfer jurisdiction and control of officials, the American litigant was very much aware that the common law was "the forest where all manner of constitutional rights had first grown and were duly sheltered;" and, "tender of his liberties, was forever coursing in its precincts" (p. 325).

Thus, the laws of England seemed no less valuable to those who gave to the legal structure of the colonial period its "final epitaph" when making the constitution of 1777. At that time it resolved that "such parts of the common law and the statutes of England and Great Britain as 'together did form the law of the . . . . colony' were to be the law of the new state" (p. xvii). So it becomes more than ever apparent that our constitutional origins must remain only partially revealed as long as colonial legal history is neglected; and, on the other hand, as materials for the study of constitutional law are realistically expanded to include such cases as the critical *King v. Bayard* (1702), a proper acknowledgment will be made of the learning in this work.

The growth of practice in New York fed upon a multilateral citation of precedents from treatises, rather than from reports, so there could have been a wider variation in effect if crown law had not remained "nearly static" in the eighteenth century. Thus, slight modifications in motions for new trials remained "esoteric" in New York after their introduction in England, because they were not conveniently recorded in books. Exploitation of the transfer mechanism by the supreme court leads Dr. Goebel to suspect "a constant and exacting study of the *Crown Circuit Companion* and of the *Office of the Clerk of Assize*" (p. 146). "Only in respect of *certiorari* did the provincial bar exhibit a disposition to indulge in experiment" (p. 284). For the general sessions of the justices of the peace, or when they acted alone or in "special" sessions, Lambard, Dalton, Nelson, and Shaw were useful authorities; especially when royal officials tended to set a rather exacting standard of process, one which could be enforced by a crown information. For the sheriffs and constables, much patient instruction by the attorney general was never quite enough (pp. 415, 454 *et seq.*). Equally remarkable was the persistence for grand juries of the "English medieval tradition rather than the less democratic [*sic*] procedures then prevailing in England" (p. 339). Yet the benefits of precedent were not available to all, for there was introduced "a host of *qui tam* actions and . . . . a summary procedure for the trial of offenses less than grand larcency which was wholly new to the common law." These bore on the relatively defenseless non-propertied group (p. 379). For all such modifications — and Professor Goebel repudiates the notion that provincial law was identical in all its ramifications with English law — there remained the strong notion that the common law was, "something right,

above and beyond the pronouncements of official persons." And, "that is why, immediately after independence had been declared, the provincial Congress could speak of the laws of the state as if the renunciation of the sovereign had been no more than the removal of a symbol — the law stood" (p. 761).

Professor Goebel has redeemed with exactness his pledge to emulate Maitland in patience, candor, and industry, even if he could not aspire to an equally great insight or felicity of expression (p. xxxiv). However, a little more consideration of the reader would have raised the work to the distinction of general appreciation. The historian has a genuine obligation, not to "write down," but to write clearly, even to mask learning with enough subtlety to enable others not quite so learned to grasp the significance of terms by the time their application is called for. It is deplorable when an author shows a grim determination to spite all comers, as, e.g., here in the carefully searched portion on the origins of formal process, when he delays a full explanation of his terms from page 385 to page 415. Something ought to be said as well of his tendency to put the worst possible construction upon a passage in another's work which he has some reason to mistrust. (Cf. any footnote reference to Andrews, Greene, and some others.) Also, he tends to allege complete error in a work where only a modification of a statement is in order; this last is particularly noticeable on page 380 and note. It is, therefore, with these reservations about style and attitude that one gives lengthy notice and recommendation to the most erudite and informing work on colonial legal history which has so far come to this reviewer's attention.

JOHN T. FARRELL

College of New Rochelle

Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786. Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr., a Young Merchant of London. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and MARION TINLING. (San Marino, California: Huntington Library. 1943. Pp. ix, 393. $5.00.)

Robert Hunter was, in 1785, the twenty-year-old son of a Scottish merchant doing business in London. Sent by his father to America after the Treaty of Paris in order to collect overdue accounts from former colonial customers, young Hunter was instructed to keep a diary of what he saw and did in the new state beyond the seas. His diary of his journeys across maritime Canada and down the length of the Atlantic coast to Charleston, South Carolina, today reposes in the Huntington Library. It is here presented in the lovely format of that library's publications, an honor probably not justified by its intrinsic merits.

No reviewer could deny the interesting character of Hunter's journal, but it is not characterized by any great depth of insight into the customs,

traditions, and manners of the America of the period. The editors, who have done an excellent bit of work in supplying necessary notes and introductory comments, admit that "Robert Hunter did not see all that he might have observed. His journal offers no penetrating insight into the state of the nation in 1785-86. It simply records an average sort of young man's impressions" (p. 16).

Many passages in the journal have been excised by the editors, most of them evidently consisting of "sentimental analyses of the state of his [Hunter's] heart or his general views on women and love" (p. viii). It may be presumed that these thoughts in a man just turned twenty would have added little that was original or profound to his observations, and that their loss is not to be regretted.

The best that can be said for this volume is that it provides some additional details on social life, principally among the upper-crust of seaboard society, in the United States during the first years of the republic. Hunter's comments on affairs economic and political are naive and superficial. It is true, of course, that all additional information of the kind supplied here must be welcomed by historians, yet the welcome must be tinged with regret that the Huntington Library has expended the skill of its editors and the revenues of its endowment on materials of superficial value.

JOHN J. MENG

Queens College

McCarthy of Wisconsin. By EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 316. $3.20.)

In this volume, Colonel Fitzpatrick, a personal friend of Charles McCarthy during the last ten years of his life, has given us an intimate biography of a true public servant in the highest meaning of the term. The son of Irish immigrants, brought up in the workingmen's quarter in the shoe town of Brockton, Massachusetts, he became a powerful and picturesque influence in Wisconsin during the regime of Robert M. La Follette, Sr. Most of McCarthy's fame rests on his Legislative Reference Library which was once derisively known as the "bill factory." It became the model for a system of bill drafting and legislative information libraries throughout the nation. Fitzpatrick devotes several chapters to McCarthy's work for the University of Wisconsin extension, continuation schools, and agricultural and industrial training facilities. McCarthy insisted that education must reach all the people, including those who dropped — or were dropped — out of the school system. To him any university professors with information or ability needed in the drawing up of legislation or in public investigation should be drafted for that purpose; he, himself, freely called upon university professors for advice. Legislators sought counsel from

McCarthy at every stage in the creation and functioning of railroad and public utility regulating bodies, educational development boards, councils of defense, and the industrial relations commission. In drafting the Railroad Commission Act of 1905, McCarthy noted the underlying principles of Wisconsin regulative legislation and administration. These principles—the sharp line between legislative and administrative functions, the appointive commission, public bookkeeping, use of trained experts, the continuing appropriation, and the protection of individual rights by the state—went into all subsequent regulative legislation. He exercised great personal influence on such progressive legislation as the graduated income tax, workmen's compensation, child labor, corrupt practices, health and sanitation, insurance regulation, and the civil service.

Across the pages of McCarthy's life marched Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Herbert Hoover, George W. Perkins, William Allen White, Lord Bryce, Sir Horace Plunkett, and many other luminaries on the political and social scene. McCarthy helped both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson draft their platforms in 1912. He helped both, for he was interested not in their parties but in what their platforms said. He called Theodore Roosevelt "the best advertising medium for ideas in America." What will surprise many readers is the author's disclosure of the slight interest the senior La Follette took in McCarthy and his work. His contacts with McCarthy were through a third person. McCarthy wrote to William Allen White in 1915: "Personally, I have had very little to do with him [La Follette]. His arbitrary temperament has made it impossible for me to work personally with him all these years. I never go near him. I cannot go through the line of puppets that he has around him to get to him."

This biography is based on manuscript material deposited in the Wisconsin Historical Society together with the many important documents still in possession of the family and the rich material of the Legislative Reference Library. Only significant material is cited in the footnotes. There is no bibliography, but a complete bibliography is on file in the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library at Madison. Colonel Fitzpatrick has made a scholarly contribution to the history of the progressive movement in the state of Wisconsin and in the nation. Students and others will enjoy it and find it profitable.

HERBERT W. RICE

Marquette University

Prairie City: The Story of an American Community. By ANGIE DEBO. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. Pp. xiv, 245. $3.00.)

Students of the Turner hypothesis will welcome *Prairie City* as a valuable addition to the history of the West, not because it is a particular

contribution to the interpretation of frontier history,—certainly the author would make no such claim—but rather because Dr. Debo has added detail and color in describing anew the process of settling the wilderness. *Prairie City* is the story of a typical, rather than an actual, small Oklahoma community—"a composite of numerous Oklahoma settlements." The author points out, however, that all the facts used in describing this fictitious settlement are historical, and the events actual, but placed in a single setting only to give greater freedom in writing.

Although the professional historian may find the book unorthodox in method, undoubtedly he will confirm its merits, for there are many, since it is written with a knowledge that comes only after a life-long acquaintance with the pioneer and a considerable study of his particular problems. With assurance and in a convincing manner Dr. Debo gives a realistic picture of the trials the pioneer encountered when pushing into Oklahoma, his struggles for existence, the difficulties of establishing himself economically, and how he met the more detailed and complex forms of political and social organization as the settlement grew. The chapter entitled "City Ways" is particularly well done. "The Sheeted Terrors" is a skillful, effective, and fair evaluation of the Ku Klux Klan. Specific instances of intolerance are given, bigotry pointed out and acknowledged, and all is done in a straightforward manner with no effort to soften the presentation.

The style is vigorous, convincing, and artistic. Clever asides, penetrating observations delightfully expressed, and sparkling anecdotes enliven the narrative from start to finish and demonstrate the author's complete mastery of her subject. The clever summary paragraphs which conclude so many of the chapters are to be specially commended. Although in many places direct discourse is woven into the narrative and there are frequent references to diaries, minutes of meetings, newspapers, and other documents, there are no footnotes and there is no exact information as to just what sources were used. Unfortunately, too, and more to be regretted, there is no bibliography. The index is good and the illustrations well chosen.

JOSEPH W. SCHMITZ

St. Mary's University
San Antonio, Texas

IBERO-AMERICAN HISTORY

Fray Pedro de Gante—El Ambiente Geográfico, Histórico y Social de Su Vida y de Su Obra hasta el Ano de 1523. By EZEQUIEL A. CHÁVEZ. (Mexico: Editorial Jus. 1943. Pp. 197.)

Fray Pedro de Gante, El Primero de los Grandes Educadores de la América. Second Edition. By EZEQUIEL A. CHAVEZ. (Mexico: Editorial Jus. 1943. Pp. 148.)

As a worthy tribute to the memory of a Franciscan who played a distinguished and important role in the Spanish conquest of Mexico and as a product of historical research, interpretation, and presentation—in both these respects the volumes under review merit high praise and commendation. The name of the author, Dr. Ezequiel A. Chávez, is as well known and as deservedly respected in the school life of Mexico today as was the name of the Franciscan lay brother, Peter of Ghent, in the same land and in the same sphere of activity four centuries ago. Being himself an educator who for many years grappled with educational theories and problems, Sr. Chávez was exceptionally well equipped to give an adequate appraisal of what Peter of Ghent undertook and achieved for the education of the Indians in all its phases. At the same time, being familiar with the history of the times, Sr. Chávez commands a hearing when he attempts to solve the various biographical problems connected with the career of Brother Peter before his coming to Mexico in 1523.

This is done in the first of the two volumes. Strange as it may sound, very little is known for certain about the brother up to the time he departed for Mexico with two other Flemish Franciscans, Juan de Tecto and Juan de Ayora. The year of his birth, the identity of his parents, the nature of his kinship with Emperor Charles V, the part he played in the social and political life of his day, the year of his entrance into the Franciscan Order—these are some of the problems that have long, and perhaps always will, tax the patience of the historian. With commendable care and skill Sr. Chávez seeks to unravel these and other problems, offering solutions that, if not altogether conclusive, may be accepted as at least very probably correct. A case in point is the question: when did Peter of Ghent join the Franciscan Order? From what Sr. Chávez proposes in reply to this question the present reviewer considers it quite reasonable to hold that Peter of Ghent left the court circles with which he had been more or less identified and became a Franciscan shortly after Bartolomé de las Casas, in the spring of 1520, was appointed protector of the Indians by Charles V (cf. pp. 147-150, 154-157). Confidence in the correctness of this solution of the problem, like that of others proposed in this volume, is created by the thoroughness with which its author sifts the available sources and collates the facts gathered from them.

The historian feels more secure, because he has richer and better authenticated details at his command, when treating Brother Peter's career in Mexico, where he arrived in 1523 and where he died in 1572, over ninety years of age. His educational work during this half-century is dealt with in the second of the two volumes. It is not so much a biography—the life-story of the man who spends all his time in the classroom is soon told—as rather a penetrating and exhaustive study of Brother Peter's educational ideas and methods. In this respect the second volume is a valuable contribution to the history of education because it is here that Sr. Chávez is thoroughly at home. With a firm grasp of the subject, he portrays Brother Peter not only as an educator and defender of the Indians, whose wholesome influence extended far beyond the confines of Mexico City, but also as a propounder of educational principles that in his day were certainly not accorded the recognition for correctness which they enjoy today. Sr. Chávez shows conclusively that Brother Peter put into actual practice many important theories of popular education which centuries later were advocated and are still being advocated by men like Pestalozzi, Froebel, Dewey, and Lombardo-Radice, but in doing so he never relinquished the basic principle that the religious training of man, fitting him for his eternal destiny, must give substance and form to his intellectual and moral training as an individual and as a member of human society. To Brother Peter of Ghent and his educational activities much credit must be given for the remarkable success the Spaniards had during the sixteenth century in converting the Indians from pagan to Christian ways of life and in making them useful and law-abiding subjects of Spain.

The present reviewer heartily recommends this valuable contribution of Sr. Chávez, and for such as are not versed in the Spanish language, he suggests that both volumes be translated into English.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

The Catholic University of America

Historia de México: Independencia, caracterización política e integración social. By JOSÉ BRAVO UGARTE. Volume III. (Mexico: Editorial Jus. 1944. Pp. 510. 20 pesos.)

To the person into whose hands this thick volume falls, the name José Bravo Ugarte gives no indication that the author is a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus. For reasons of local expediency, the S. J. at the end of the name was suppressed and one will look in vain for the *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*. This, too, has been prudently suppressed as far as publication is concerned.

Father Bravo Ugarte gives us in this third, and much the largest volume of his history of Mexico, a survey of the nineteenth century. In the first

volume he described the pre-Columbus period; in the second the colonial institutions and regime; and in this third volume, the complex social and political scene from the day of independence down to the present. A fourth volume is due sometime next year to treat of international relations and Mexican culture. The task has been tremendous. For fourteen years this diligent Jesuit has labored to bring his materials together and for four weary years he has worked on the manuscript. The reviewer does not hesitate to opine that the volume on the past century is one of the best things historically to come out of Mexico in many a year. Since I am not an archaeologist nor even a specialist in the colonial period, I do not attempt to compare the first two volumes with the third. Father Bravo Ugarte had, by the very nature of things, a hard row to hoe. Many texts and single-volume histories of Mexico have appeared. The Marxist brethren have contributed their share of confusion and have interpreted Mexican history as though it had been planned by Engels. They have worked with more zeal than skill to distort most of the events and personalities since independence.

As a result we have a view of the history of Mexico which not only denounces the rival camp, but simply eliminates from its pages whole figures. That has been the sad destiny of Agustín Iturbide, emancipator of Mexico and emperor. Like some of our historians of philosophy who jump from Plato to Descartes as though nothing happened in between, so our leftist friends have converted the obscure Vicente Guerrero into the liberator of the nation and have condemned Iturbide to the limbo of forgotten men. The reaction against this has been to go to the opposite extreme. Catholic writers have often tried their hand at a not very effective job of whitewashing and the results have been deplorable. More than one distinguished ecclesiastic in Mexico has written history which is so full of bias, prejudice, unsupported assertions, and *parti pris* in general as to be almost useless.

Father Bravo Ugarte is no conventional historian. His focus is original, his presentaton lively, and his intentions honorable. He does not undertake to plead a case. He seeks to bring together in a single presentation the internal and external factors which determine the trend of Mexican history. Obviously, the external influences are frequently the determinants, as in the case of the constant presence and pressure of the United States. Broadly speaking, he divides the period since independence into two epochs: the constitutive and the constitutional. This is no mere play on words. The author conceives of the first period, the constitutive, as extending from 1821 to 1867, during which the nation groped for a definite form of government. It was the period of experimentation, of change, and of revolution, during which empire was followed by republic and again by

empire. From 1867 to 1943, the Mexican nation found its political expression and the task has become one of constitutionalism.

The volume under review is distinguished by the originality of the concepts and the willingness to introduce interpretation, synthesis, and ideas. Father Bravo Ugarte has performed a task that needed doing. His works have already been widely and favorably received. It is to be hoped that American scholars will become acquainted with them, for the reviewer knows of no more dispassionate and honest attempt to present Mexico's story than the three volumes which have appeared to date.

RICHARD PATTEE

Mexico, D. F.

History of Mexican Literature. By CARLOS GONZALEZ PENA. Revised Edition. Translated by Gusta Barfield Nance and Florence Johnson Dunstan. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 398. $4.00.)

English translations of Latin American books, literary, scientific, historical, and otherwise have become part of the wave of enthusiasm for Latin America. If we must have translations, let us have more translations of books of reference and criticism. The translation of the *History of Mexican Literature* of Gonzalez Pena is a valuable contribution to the study of the subject. The author, a man of letters, a novelist of distinction, and a recognized critic, has written one of the best rounded histories of literature of Mexico available. With deep insight and rare judgment, he has included in his history brief but vivid sketches of the political, social, and economic factors that have determined the trend of Mexico's literature.

The author traces briefly the establishment of the University of Mexico, the beginnings of the theatre and of printing, the cultural work of the friars, and the invaluable contribution of the Church to the development of culture. Under five topical headings: the sixteenth century, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the epoch of independence, from the consummation of independence to 1867, and from 1867 to 1910, the panorama of Mexican literature is unfolded against the colorful background of Mexican life with its clash of native and European civilizations, the ruthlessness of the conqueror and the loving kindness of the missionary and the Church. Since literature reflects the life and thought of the time, it is essential that the conditions under which it developed and took form be revealed to the reader. This Gonzalez Pena does well, and in this lies largely the value of his work and its translation.

The translators have rendered the original text with rare accuracy and faithfulness. The most serious criticism is the translations into English of the titles cited in the text. The original Spanish titles, except where the

work is available in English, should have been given in Spanish in every instance with the English translation in parenthesis. Gonzalez Pena criticizes Eguiara, the first Mexican bibliographer, for translating into Latin titles of works in Spanish cited by this Mexican pioneer in the exacting science of bibliography. Incidentally, Gonzalez Pena in discussing the work of Eguiara, fails to mention that he left three volumes of his remarkable bibliography in manuscript, which carry the list through "J." This unpublished portion of Eguiara's work is now in the University of Texas and deserves editing. The looseness with which Beristain, the successor of Eguiara, renders titles of works cited in his otherwise invaluable bibliography has long been a source of irritation to scholars. Truly the carelessness of these two pioneer bibliographers is not as bad as the English translation of the Spanish titles cited by Gonzalez Pena. It is too bad that the original titles were not given in every instance.

To those who wish to study the literature of Mexico and to understand the complex factors that have determined to a large extent its development and character, this interpretation by a Mexican, who is a novelist and a critic in his own right, will prove invaluable. It is much more than a history of Mexican literature. It gives the uninitiated a brief but authoritative glimpse into the complex background of Mexican life and culture.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

A Century of Latin American Thought. By W. REX CRAWFORD, Cultural Attaché, United States Embassy, Rio de Janeiro. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. 320. $3.50.)

Dr. W. Rex Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania, the Department of State, and the America Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, has penetrated a field which has been singularly untrod heretofore. He remarks in his introduction that "in the flurry of recent inter-American cultural developments, our interest and our knowledge have remained curiously spotty." How profoundly true this observation is. The reviewer is appalled no end that after six or more years of generated and spontaneous ardor for things Latin American we should still be at the stage where we must tell audiences that in Brazil Portuguese is spoken and that Argentina is nearer Europe than the United States. The diffusion of actual knowledge of Hispanic America has been spread incredibly thin and we have reaped the inevitable harvest. We have had an infinite number of volumes on Nazis in Paraguay, Falangists in Honduras, and fifth columnist of various brands and stripes in every place from Copacabana Beach to the hinterland of Ecuador. Some good travel books have come out of the *Storm und Drang;* a few better Spanish grammars have made their appearance; Portuguese has man-

aged to ease itself into a few institutions and will probably be ousted as soon as the war is over. Otherwise the scene is pretty dreary. What do we have on economics? Not statistics on meat production in Argentina or the number of sacks of sugar shipped out of Pinar del Rio, but solid, substantial studies which will give us a lead on the social structure of Latin America. The arts, even letters, as far as materials in English are concerned, are still fields in which the casual reader will find scant assistance.

If this is true of these various aspects, it is even truer of the realm of ideas. Professor Crawford has undertaken to give us a volume in which he surveys the growth of Latin American thought. I dislike the word "thinker" as much as anyone; there is no term, however, adequate to cover this variegated company whom Crawford has brought together under one tent. Since no Latin American ever specializes in anything and most of them consider poetry, sociology, anthropology, and optometry as legitimate fields in which to engage simultaneously, it is obvious that the broad words "thought" or "ideas" must cover these figures who are responsible for the mentality of contemporary Hispanic America.

On the purely Catholic side there may be some reason for quarrel with Dr. Crawford. The reviewer would certainly hesitate to include the name of Manuel Gálvez among the Catholic thinkers of Latin America. To be sure, he wrote a book called *El Solar de la raza* and has manifested clearly enough his attachment to the eternal values. He is essentially and fundamentally a novelist with an inclination for the historical. I believe it would be difficult to attribute to Gálvez a body of ideas or doctrine which would withstand much examination. Monsignor de Andrea is infinitely more a representative of Catholic thinking than is Gálvez, if we insist on selecting a Catholic. Dr. Crawford speaks of Montalvo as undeservedly called a heretic. The reviewer is an old reader of Montalvo and he has gone through most of his published books and not a few of his scattered essays and articles. If he is not a heretic in the Catholic sense of the word, I have never run across one. Admittedly his ideas won considerable support and no little popularity. I would like to see such figures somewhat counterbalanced by men who reflect in its integrity the Catholic idea—and their number is not small. If one includes Samuel Ramos of Mexico, for example, who is an estimable person, but not yet an outstanding one, why not include Alfonso Junco who, through the essay, newspaper, and books has become the spokesman of a very large and vocal sector of Mexican opinion?

There is nothing more sterile than quibbling over what an author has included and what he has left out, especially in a book of this kind, which, by its very nature, requires selection. The important thing is that for the

non-Spanish reader, a volume is available which gives him a chart of the names, ideas, and places of many of the really important non-political figures in Latin America. At least we get away from generals, caudillos, and the rest of that sigularly unattractive human fauna whose prowess and activities fill too many pages of our textbooks.

RICHARD PATTEE

Mexico, D. F.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In connection with the commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the ordination of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, attention has been called to an error in some accounts about the death of the great pioneer of the Middle West. Benjamin Webb, in his *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884) and the article on Badin in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* give the day of his death as April 21, 1853, instead of April 19, as recorded in the contemporary accounts. *The Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, where he died, says that nature marked his passing with bursts of thunder and lightning, fitting circumstances for the passing of such an energetic priest.

Abbé Adrien Rouquette of Louisiana was a rather unusual figure in American history. A writer of French verse of quality and a missionary to Indians, Abbé Rouquette had many important friendships and exercised considerable influence on Louisiana Catholicism of his day. A definitive biography of this American-French poet and priest using much unprinted material is being prepared by Mrs. Dagmar Libreton of the Department of Romance Languages of Tulane University. The unusual connections of Abbé Rouquette, as well as his literary abilities, add to the interest in this forthcoming publication.

The circumstances surrounding the activities of Cardinal Gibbons in preventing the condemnation of the Knights of Labor have received varied interpretations. Some have attributed the cardinal's decision less to his own opinions and more to the persuasive influence of his friend, Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul. In this connection a passage in a letter of Archbishop Ireland to the cardinal a few years later is interesting. In a letter of April 21, 1890, Ireland said, "You were a prophet! The people are the power and the Church must be with the people. I wish all our own bishops understood this truth."

The approaching liberation of central Europe will provide new incentive for those in this country who are working for the canonization of Frederick Baraga, first Bishop of Sault St. Marie and Marquette. Deprived of necessary funds, misunderstood by his superiors and even driven from the scene of his earlier labors at L'Arbre Croche Mission under a cloud of misrepresentation, Baraga never ceased his labors for the Indians and whites of northwestern Michigan and northern Wisconsin. He not only

visited the missions with courageous zeal to attend his Indian flock, but he prepared for them prayerbooks, hymnals, and catechisms in their native tongue and even a dictionary of their language. The present-day pastors who have traveled the routes of his missionary journey are in deep admiration of his energy.

The types of missionaries who have served the outposts of the Church in early America have been as varied as the countries and circumstances from which they came. One of the most romantic of these was Fra Junipero Serra, O.F.M., of California, whose character is so similar in many ways to the great St. Francis of Assisi. Admirers of this California hero will be pleased to know that Father Maximin Piette, O.F.M., author of *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism* (New York, 1937), is gathering material for a definitive biography of Junipero Serra.

Georgetown University has been made the recipient of a fund of $2,500 from Frederick and William Sitterding of Richmond, Virginia, to help defray the expenses of publication of materials in the University's rich archives. The first publication to be financed in part from this fund will be the Civil War diary of John Dooley, a Confederate captain, who became a Jesuit following the war and died at Georgetown in 1873. His diary is a 300-page manuscript giving a day-by-day account of his experiences during the Civil War. It will be edited by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., professor of American history at Georgetown.

Georgetown University has received from Miss Mary A. Benjamin a collection of Catholic Americana, together with autographed letters of several important saints and churchmen. The collection will be named in honor of Father Francis X. Talbot, S.J., recently appointed regional director of the Institute of Social Order for Jesuit activities.

The Dinand Library at Holy Cross College, Worcester, has recently added to the Guiney Room its special collection of Louise Imogen Guiney material, fifty letters written to Miss Celia Whelan of Boston and as many more letters and cards written to Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Frohock of Malden. The letters are dated from 1906 to 1920. Besides the letters there are sixteen photographs. Many of them are pictures of Miss Guiney and are inscribed by her. There are also pictures of Longwall Cottage, where Miss Guiney lived at Oxord; and of Llanover House, Abergavenny, Wales, where she lived for a time while preparing her *Recusant Poets* for publication.

The twenty-eighth meeting of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission was held at St. Edward's University, Austin, on May 30, 1944. Professor Castañeda reported that he is continuing his work on Volume VI of *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas,* which will cover the years, 1810-1845. The final volume of this valuable series, covering the period, 1845-1936, has been assigned to Raymond J. Clancy, C.S.C., who will devote his full time to its preparation.

The Library Chronicle of the University of Texas was issued in its first number during the summer of 1944. It is edited by Joseph Jones of the University's Department of English and is chiefly bibliographical. Since it emanates from a library containing such important groupings as the Wren and Garcia Collections, it will probably remain in large measure bibliographical.

Sumner Welles will edit for the Harvard University Press a series of about twenty books on our relations with foreign countries. The first volumes in the series are scheduled for publication early in 1945.

The Achivist of the United States has proposed that a building be constructed in the suburbs of Washington for the central housing of such records of the Federal Government as are no longer needed in the offices where they accumulated but will have to be preserved, at least for a considerable period, for legal, administrative, or research uses. It is estimated that, in addition to the records now in The National Archives, there will be at least two million cubic feet of such records in existence at the end of the war.

Buildings and Equipment for Archives, Number 6 of the *Bulletins* of The National Archives, consisting of three papers, contains much of interest to those concerned with the adequate housing of records, particularly in regard to post-war building. Copies may be obtained from the Assistant Administrative Secretary of The National Archives. *Circular* No. 6 of The National Archives is a new sixteen-page *Catalog of Exhibit.* It has numerous illustrations of the building and its equipment together with descriptions of thirty-three items of the exhibit.

The Bulletin of the American Association for State and Local History for November is devoted to an article by Bertha L. Heilbron, assistant editor of the Minnesota Historical Society, on "How to Organize a Local Historical Society."

The Library of Congress has secured funds from the Rockefeller Foundation to offer grants-in-aid for research in American history and civilization. The first work is to be centered on the history of the last hundred years. While the publications are intended to reach a wide public, the grants are to be given to scholars of proved competence in research and writing. Applications for the first grants will be received until April 1, 1945. Requests for application forms should be addressed to the Librarian of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

Concern over the neglect of American history in colleges and universities has caused the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of New York to issue a report on the teaching of American history in New York colleges and universities.

The University of Maryland will begin next September to base either the freshman or sophomore year on the study of American history, literature, philosophy, and art.

Mills College in California has established an Institute of American History with three chairs of American history, literature, and philosophy.

The May Company of Cleveland has presented the great Yale University collection of motion and still pictures—five complete sets of forty-seven reels each of the Chronicles of America and eight sets, one thousand slides each, called the Pageant of America—to the people of Greater Cleveland. Repository for the gift will be the Cleveland Public School Board, which will make the films available to the schools, but the Cleveland Public library will also have two sets for the use of churches and civic organizations.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the National Council for Social Studies was held in Cleveland, November 23-25. The meetings were focused on the problems and issues facing social studies teachers when the war comes to an end.

Delegates from eight states and the District of Columbia were in attendance at the second annual meeting of the Polish American Historical Commission held the first week in November at St. Mary's College, Orchard Lake, Michigan. Miecislaus Haiman was named chairman of the Executive Council and the Reverend Joseph Swastek, treasurer. These two men were also named as managing and associate editors respectively of *Polish American Studies,* the Commission's publication.

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America has published the first volume of *Polish-American Studies,* edited by Constantin Symono-

lewicz. It contains nine brief papers on various phases of Polish-American history with some excellent suggestions for research projects in the Catholic history of the Polish-American immigrants. These papers were among those read at the first meeting of the Commission for Research on Polish Immigration in New York on December 29-30, 1943. The brochure is sold by the Institute headquarters, 37 East 36th Street, New York 16, New York, for 50¢.

The Ukrainian Quarterly issued its first number in October ($4.00 yearly. Business address: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, P. O. Box 721, Church Street Annex, New York 8, New York). Its editors believe that it is "a duty of those Americans who are of Ukrainian birth or descent and have, as the most recent group of immigrants, very strong ties with their brethren in Europe on the one hand, and through their new American homeland ties with the Anglo-Saxon world on the other, to inform the world of the true state of Ukrainian affairs." The articles of the first number are listed in Periodical Literature.

The September, 1944, issue of *Church History* carries another in a series of bibliographical studies on various religious groups. This particular contribution, "The Historiography of the Mennonites in the Netherlands," is by Cornelius Krahn of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Reprints are available for 50¢ a copy from the author.

Frederick J. Zwierlein in a brief article in the December number of *Social Justice Review* traces recent Catholic teaching on "Private Property in Land."

In his recently published book, *Inter-American Affairs, 1943*, Arthur P. Whitaker, chairman of the graduate history division of the University of Pennsylvania, surveys the changes wrought in the American nations during that year. The study devotes considerable space to the diplomatic and commercial connections between Canada and the rest of the hemisphere.

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held at the seminary of Nicolet, October 3-4. The papers will be listed in the REVIEW when they appear in print.

Father John B. O'Reilly's ten-page article "Canada from a College Window," in the November number of the *Canadian Messenger of the Sacred Heart* compares in scholarly fashion two recent books on Canadian history for Americans. Dr. O'Reilly praises the attitude of Professor Alfred L. Burt, but finds that Professor Donald Grant Creighton pro-

duces a biased view of Canada to the disadvantage of the French Canadians and of the Catholic Church.

The August number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* is devoted to the important and interesting subject of the Negro in Latin America.

The Reverend Honorius Provost of the Archdiocese of Quebec has been given a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation for study of archival administration at the National Archives. Abbé Provost, who is assistant archivist of Laval University, arrived in Washington in October and will remain for a period of about six months on his present assignment.

An Inter-American Institute was held at Nazareth College, Louisville, June 27-29, and a Conference on Inter-American Relations was sponsored by Immaculate Heart College, Hollywood, on November 1. Both meetings offered a rich variety of papers by experts on Latin America.

Mr. Francisco Aguilera, formerly of the Pan American Union, has accepted the position of assistant director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress. Dr. Robert C. Smith, who formerly occupied that post, has been placed in charge of exhibits at the Library, and will continue the work he has been doing in connection with the Archive of Hispanic Culture.

Father José Bravo Ugarte, S.J., has published the third volume of his *Historia de México* (*Independencia, caracterización política y integración social*), reviewed elsewhere in this issue. The work was initiated with Tomo I (*Elementos Prehispánicos*) and Tomo II (*La Nueva España*) in 1941. Father Bravo Ugarte plans to publish the two final volumes in the next year or two. All American Catholics who are interested in Mexican history should have the Bravo Ugarte *Historia*, and it is to be hoped that some enterprising American publisher will bring out an English edition of the work. With Professor Herbert I. Priestley dead and his *The Mexican Nation* unrevised since 1921, the only general treatment of Mexico now available in English is Henry Bamford Parkes' *A History of Mexico*. The Parkes book reveals a strong anti-Catholic bias which makes it all the more important that Americans in general and Catholics in particular should have a splendid reference work like Bravo Ugarte's to turn to when occasion demands.

Mexico's new Museo Nacional de Historia was formally opened in October, 1944, with the assistance of President Avila Camacho and repre-

sentatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Mexico City. The principal address was given by Sr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Secretary of Public Education. The Museo is located in the famed Chapultepec Castle and is under the direction of Professor José de Jesús Nuñez y Domínguez. Most of the historical treasures formerly kept in the Museo when it was located in the Palacio Nacional have been removed to the new location. The old Museo will continue to house Mexico's magnificent archaeological collections.

Paul V. Murray, principal of the high school department in the American School Foundation, Mexico, D. F., was appointed to give the survey course in Mexican history during the National University's 1944 summer session. This was the first time in fifteen years that the course was not given by Dr. Pablo Martínez del Río, who has directed the summer session for the same length of time. Mr. Murray has also been appointed to teach the survey course in the history of the United States during the University's regular session; and he will give one of the lectures in Mexican history during the University's winter session of 1944-45. It has been the practice for several years to invite local figures from outside the University to participate in the lectures of the winter session. Among those invited for the 1944-45 session are Rafael Altamira, Alfonso Toro, Atanasio Saravia, Luis Chavez Orozco, and Father José Bravo Ugarte, S.J.

Albert W. Bork, who received his doctor's degree in history at the National University in August, 1944, has begun his duties as assistant professor of Latin American history at Washington State College at Pullman. Dr. Bork's thesis on Commercio entre Nuevo México y Misuri, 1822-1846, was highly commended by members of the doctoral examining board.

Two more volumes of the excellent Registo geral da Câmara da Cidade de São Paulo (for the years 1844-1845) and "Atas da Câmara da cidade de São Paulo (for the year 1861), Vols. XXXIII and XLVII respectively, were issued in 1943 by the Departamento de Cultura of S. Paulo city.

A group of historians from Angra-do-Heroísmo, Azores, have recently founded an historical institute for the purpose of encouraging the study of the history of Terceira Island. Among the first projects of the new organization will be the publication of the unpublished parts of Gaspar Frutuoso's *Saudades da Terra* that deal with Terceira. This work, the best early history of the archipelago, is by a sixteenth-century priest.

A Portuguese translation of Manoel de Oliveira Lima's *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne* (Paris, 1911) has appeared in Brazil.

This work remains one of the best surveys of Brazilian history, and it is hoped that an English version of it will some day be prepared.

Dr. Augusto Schmidt, director of the National Book Institute of Rio de Janeiro, was a recent visitor to the United States through the courtesy of the Department of State. One of the results of his visit is the plan to publish a new edition of Maria Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (London, 1824) from the authoress' own copy which is in the Lima Library, The Catholic University of America.

A new edition of Gonzalo Hernández de Oviedo y Valdés' *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar Océano*, the first complete edition of which appeared in Madrid in 1851, is now being published in Buenos Aires in fourteen volumes.

Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1942 presents *Letters from the Berlin Embassy*, 1871-1874, 1880-1885, edited by Paul Knaplund. The letters, chiefly private and confidential, are selected from the communications of British representatives at Berlin.

In *Harper's Magazine* for December Ernest K. Lindley and Edward Weintal give a factual account of "How We Dealt With Spain: American Diplomacy at Madrid, 1940-1944." It presents in a highly favorable light the work of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes as ambassador to Spain.

The persistence of the concept of the unity of Christendom against the Mohammedan Turk long after the break in the religious unity of Europe is the subject of an article entitled "England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom," by Franklin L. Baumer of Yale University in the October, 1944, issue of the *American Historical Review*. The author has examined the correspondence of the English rulers and diplomats for the period from Henry VIII to Charles I. The temporizing attitude of Elizabeth with the sultan's government was a source of scandal to her fellow-Christian rulers on the continent, and the English queen was at pains to dispel the impression. As late as the seventeenth century there was serious talk among Protestant and Catholic rulers about a league against the Turk. Mr. Baumer concludes his interesting article by saying: "Not until the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, or perhaps much later, were the European states prepared to regard the Turk as a power not unlike themselves and as worthy of inclusion in the European concert. So great was the weight of tradition, and so long did it take for the full impact of the secularization of European politics and the religious schism to be felt" (p. 48).

Historical studies concerning the oriental rites will be aided and stimulated by the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law for Oriental Rites, which is announced for the immediate future.

The Most Reverend Michael J. Ready, recently consecrated Bishop of Columbus, has been a member of the Committee on Publications of the American Catholic Historical Association for the past three years. The REVIEW extends its congratulations to the new bishop.

John E. Sexton, professor of church history in St. John's Seminary, Brighton, from 1911 to 1940, is writing the history of the seminary in commemoration of its sixtieth anniversary. Brighton opened for classes on September 22, 1884, with thirty-two students. The celebration of this event has been set tentatively for early in May.

Robert H. Lord, professor of church history in St. John's Seminary, Brighton since 1930, and president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1922, has been named pastor of St. Paul's Church, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Father Lord is presently working on his volume on the Catholic Reformation, which will appear in the Rise of Modern Europe series edited by William L. Langer of Harvard University.

The Archdiocese of New York has recently taken over the projected life of Archbishop John Hughes. The research preparatory to the writing of this work was begun twelve years ago by Monsignor Peter Guilday and continued by him until uncertain health made further progress difficult. Under the new arrangement Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the Archdiocese, will be associated with Monsignor Guilday as co-author.

On November 10 Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the Archdiocese of New York, addressed the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History, at Harrisburg, on the subject, "Historical and Archival Activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States." On November 14 Mr. O'Connor was the speaker at the sixty-first anniversary meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. His talk on this occasion was entitled, "Six Decades of Service."

William A. Fitzgerald, librarian and archivist of Brooklyn Preparatory School, Brooklyn, New York, for sixteen years, has been appointed librarian of the school of medicine and assistant professor of medical history in St. Louis University. He holds a Ph.D. degree from Fordham University and a degree in library science from Columbia University.

The Reverend John Jordan Dillon, O.P., president of Providence College, died last month. Father Dillon took an M.A. degree in American church history at the Catholic University of America in 1929 and his Ph.D. in philosophy at the Angelicum in 1932. He received honorary degrees from Brown University and Rhode Island State College.

The Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary observed the centenary of their founding this fall. The congregation was founded in Montreal.

The Sisters of the Precious Blood of Dayton, Ohio, have published an illustrated brochure commemorating the centenary of their coming to the United States.

Woodstock College marked its seventy-fifth anniversary at a two-day celebration on November 6-7. The college opened on September 23, 1869, and since that time 1,716 of its students have been ordained priests.

In commemoration of the golden jubilee of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, a brochure was prepared by the Reverend Robert F. McNamara, professor of church history in the seminary. It is entitled, *St. Bernard's Seminary, 1893-1943.* The seminary, founded by Bishop McQuaid, opened on September 4, 1893 and in its fifty years has trained in whole or in part 1,684 priests. Not the least valuable part of Father McNamara's booklet is the carefully-compiled alumni lists, lists of the deceased alumni, and list of alumni serving as chaplains in the armed forces.

Documents: The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi. Jean Delanglez (*Mid-America,* Oct.).—Letter to Archbishop Reisach, president of the Ludwigmissionsverein of Munich from the Reverend Francis Xavier Paulhuber, pastor of St. Mary's Milwaukee. Peter Leo Johnson (*Salesianum,* Oct.).—Conditions among German Catholics in the United States in 1847 [letter of Father Kannamüller, C.SS.R., to the Ludwigmissionsverein]. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.,* Nov.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ARCINIEGAS, GERMÁN. *Germans in the Conquest of America.* Translated by Angel Flores. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. 217. $2.50.) We have here the story, not sufficiently indicated in the title, of early sixteenth-century German bankers, the Fuggers and the Welsers, pursuing through brutal and lawless agents the right, extorted from Emperor Charles V in return for money loans, to exploit vast regions in South America. The sordid and criminal methods of this so-called conquest cover about twenty-five years, from 1532 to 1557. The venture ended in complete failure, had no influence whatever on developments in Spanish America, and was the only and last time Hapsburg Spain resorted to this sort of purely mercantilistic enterprise in her American possessions.

One wonders why the book was written at all and for whom it was intended. On the jacket in which it appears we are told that the volume "provides an understanding of the persistence of German power there [in South America] even down to today" and that it "suggests a parallel between the methods of the sixteenth century of German merchant-bankers (and their agents) and those followed by the twentieth century agents of Nazi Germany." Aside from the fact that the book "provides" and "suggests" nothing of the kind, if this was really the purpose that the author had in mind, then serious historians will know what value to place on the book and will not fail to tell the uninformed and unwary layman that the book leaves far too much of the story unsaid, failing consequently to present a complete and clear picture of what really happened.

To the present reviewer, two features appear very objectionable. Instead of footnote references, there is merely at the end of the volume a list of secondary works more or less relating to the theme of the volume. The critical reader nowadays wants an opportunity to check, in a book of this kind, the tenability of statements and conclusions and the accuracy of citations and translations. Then, the entire story is told in the present tense. This makes the reading of it an exceedingly wearisome task, tempting the reader to put it aside for something more interesting and evoking from him a sigh of relief if he succeeds in plowing his way through it. As a literary effort, seeking effectiveness through new channels, the volume under review may deserve some commendation; but to serious history-writing it is a decidedly negligible contribution. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

BOWEN, CATHERINE DRINKER. *Yankee from Olympus: Justice Holmes and His Family.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1944. Pp. xvii, 475. $3.00.) In writing this account of three generations of the Holmes family, Miss Bowen has exhibited the faults of her earlier works on Tschaikovsky and the Rubinsteins. She is primarily interested in the inter-play of personalities, and her interest constantly leads her to abandon the historian's limits for the novelist's freedom. But—and this seems to be generally true of the writers of fictional biographies—the abandonment of the historian's restraints is the result of a pedestrian imagination, which is driven to visualize grass, trees, pump handles, ordinary con-

versations, and other things that may be taken for granted. Her concern with personal relationships prompts her to slight the more important achievements of her subjects. Thus, she is quite unsatisfactory on Abiel Holmes' *Annals*, and her treatment of the judicial work of Oliver Wendell Holmes is sketchier than a brief encyclopaedia article. She is completely vague about the origin and development of the justice's interesting philosophy, which was a compound of scepticism, pragmatism, and an intense belief in the necessity of freedom as an avenue to truth. Moreover, she assumes no historical knowledge in her readers, and devotes many pages to a sketch of American history that is not always relevant or accurately presented. Stylistically the work suffers from frequent lapses into breathless, gushing, school-girl mannerisms, and from such clumsy devices as "people were saying" or "everybody was doing."

In spite of these grievous faults, several passages of the work are very readable. The account of Dr. Holmes, the autocrat, is entertaining and suggestive. Miss Bowen indicates her indebtedness to a great many sources of information, the friends and associates of Justice Holmes. In addition, she enjoyed the guidance of that tycoon of erudition, Bernard de Voto. Doubtless she labored in preparing her work. It is regrettable that her book largely blighted the fruit of her labors. (MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS)

CASSIDY, FRANK P. *Molders of the Medieval Mind: The Influence of the Fathers of the Church on the Medieval Schoolmen.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. viii, 194. $2.00.) The purpose of this modest little volume is to introduce the reader to a general understanding of the influences of selected fathers of the Church on the mediaeval schoolmen. It does this quite satisfactorily. A summary of the chief features of Roman education together with a chapter on the educational principles and practices of early Christianity preface two chapters on the fathers, one devoted to those of the East and one, to those of the West. A concluding statement of patristic attitudes toward the learning and education of the pagans is also given. A few of the more significant details of the life of each of the writers selected for study are provided to somewhat personalize the account. There is a short bibiliography of works in English devoted to the fathers and their period, as well as titles of the English translations of their more important writings on educational themes. The style is direct and simple. Since this is an introduction, no attempt is made to deal thoroughly with technical questions pertaining to the influence of patristic writers on the scholastics. The intelligent reader should be sufficiently informed by this account to appreciate something of the educational problems of the patristic age and of their solutions. When the reader goes on to further study, especially of the sources, the author's hope will have been realized. (BERNARD J. KOHLBRENNER)

CORWIN, EDWARD S. *The Constitution and World Organization.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 64. $1.00.) The extent to which the United States should participate in world organization, as proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, was discussed during the recent presidental campaign by the candidates and by their leading supporters. Professor Corwin has anticipated many phases of that debate in his analysis of the constitutional limitations

on the powers of the national government to enter an international organization and the constitutional rules governing the role of the Senate in treaty-making.

After a closely-reasoned historical and legal argument, Professor Corwin comes to the conclusion that our entry into an international organization for the promotion of peace and our pledge with respect to the use of its powers for the promotion of peace are questions which "the appropriate agencies of the National Government are free to decide on grounds of national interest, substantially unfettered by any constitutional limitations." He also concludes that our constitutional history and the history of our foreign relations support Congressman Fulbright's position that an undertaking approved by a majority of the House of Representatives and of the Senate is just as solemn as action by two-thirds of the Senate. Professor Corwin proposes that the Senate itself recognize the merits of this view and that it support measures designed to replace the existing provision in the Constitution for Senate approval of treaties by one requiring legislative approval.

Every serious student of world affairs and of our constitutional system will welcome Professor Corwin's scholarly treatment of these controversial issues. (CHARLES P. O'DONNELL)

DAVID, BROTHER, C.S.C., Librarian of the University of Portland. *American Catholic Convert Authors: A Bio-Bibliography.* (Detroit: Walter Romig and Co. 1944. Pp. xiv, 15-259. $2.75.) This book should prove helpful for reference. Each convert is listed alphabetically with a factual statement of his birthplace, his former religion, his education, and the authorities from which the information was obtained, followed by a list of works of the author. At the end there is a "Chronology of Authors," a "Chronology of Conversions" from 1783 to 1942, and the names of "Authors Erroneously Considered Converts."

In a work of this kind there are likely to be a few omissions, e.g., Daniel Barber is given but not his son Virgil, who became a Catholic before his father. The archives of Woodstock College contain the diary, memoirs, and the revision of Alvarez's *Latin Grammar* by Virgil Barber, while Fordham University has his poem "Catahden." A more conspicuous oversight is that of Sylvester Horton Rosecrans, brother of General William Rosecrans, who was received into the Catholic Church in 1845, and was consecrated a bishop in 1862. Father Rosecrans was associate editor of the *Catholic Telegraph* in Cincinnati and, as first Bishop of Columbus, established the *Catholic Columbian*, to which he himself was a regular contributor.

One wonders why the author has recorded Professor Waldemar Gurian of the University of Notre Dame as an American convert when he has neglected such prominent names as Raïssa and Jacques Maritain. Mention might also be made of Max Oertel, a Lutheran minister from Europe, who embraced Catholicism in the United States in 1840. His writings may be found in a master's thesis written by Sister M. Thomas Johanneman, O.S.B., at the Catholic University of America in 1939. A more restrictive title, Catholic Convert Authors in the United States, would meet the approval of our Latin American neighbors, who dislike the word "American" applied exclusively to the people of the United States. (SISTER LAURITA GIBSON)

EVERSON, IDA GERTRUDE. *George Henry Calvert. American Literary Pioneer.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 330. $3.75.) In the period when intellectual Americans were seeking their cultural independence from Europe, George Henry Calvert, great grandson of the fifth Lord Baltimore, was being reared by his Belgian mother, Rosalie Stier Calvert, at Riversdale, Maryland, in an atmosphere of old world traditions. Although one scarcely finds mention of him in the current histories of American literature, the present biographer has given sufficient reason why he should have a place among our literary pioneers.

By his education at Göttingen, where he explored German literature thoroughly, and by his personal contact with Goethe, he was fitted to be the first American biographer of the great German dramatist and the translator of the *Schiller-Goethe Correspondence.* He was also the first American to translate Schiller's *Don Carlos.* Biographies of Wordsworth and Peter Paul Rubens, essays on Dante and Sainte-Beuve, translation of the *Thoughts of Joseph Joubert,* original dramas and poems, critical reviews, and public lectures are among his notable works.

The author ascribes Calvert's failure to gain recognition among American litterateurs to the fact that he was too far ahead of his contemporaries to win their sympathy and approval; that he clung too tenaciously to German Romanticism at a time when such writers as Walt Whitman were becoming the spokesmen of the new America. Throughout the book the author stresses Calvert's almost fruitless attempts to impress the literary world of his day. He did not work for pecuniary returns, but he was convinced that he had a message to give and that he possessed the literary skill to convey it.

One tragic event of his youth may have been responsible for his inability to reach the fullness of his genius. The disaffection of his mother from the Church of Rome had cut him off from a source of inspiration which would have deepened and enriched his creative powers. Though not tainted by unbelief, he was unsympathetic towards organized religion, especially Catholicism.

Careful documentation renders the story of his life exact in factual material. Thoughtful interpretation based on concrete evidence from his own writings gives a definite insight into his character and thoughts. The easy manner of presentation, graced by careful diction, the choice selection of quoted material skillfully woven into the narrative, affords the reader correct information acquired through a real literary medium. Save for the experience of meeting Calvert's friends in intimate situations, one gets little of the milieu of the times from the biography, but that is due in part to the studious, retiring Calvert himself, who stood aloof from political issues and policies but for his interest in socialism. On the whole the biography merits a place on the list of recommended readings in American cultural history of the middle period. (SISTER M. THEOPHANE GEARY)

GOHDES, CLARENCE. *American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 191. $2.50) Continuing the work of the late William B. Cairns on the British attitude toward American literature prior to 1833, Professor Gohdes sketches the reception of American poetry and fiction in England from 1833 to the end of the century and illustrates the popularity of a literature which probably had a larger social and political influence on Englishmen than is generally realized. The extraordinary popularity of Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, Twain, and the humorists among

the middle classes who read them in cheap reprints (many of them piracies) leads Professor Gohdes to conjecture that "for limited periods the consumption of certain American works in England must have surpassed that at home." The facts collected, chiefly from a study of the English book trade and the numerous notices of American letters in English periodicals, should correct the impression that Englishmen neglected American writers or read them only to censure. It is true that there was a good deal of censure and prejudice, largely due no doubt to the belief among Englishmen like Carlyle that a democratic America could produce nothing of worth culturally; but the evidence also points to a widespread interest among the Victorian middle classes in a literature which they enjoyed and very likely accepted with less condescension than the professional reviewers.

Professor Gohdes touches on many aspects of Anglo-American literary relations in a book full of factual particulars and bibliographical information useful to historians studying the effect of popular literature on middle class culture. The book outlines more material and suggests more topics than it details; but it succeeds in presenting a broad survey of a subject the materials of which are not easy to organize. Of special interest are the chapters on the book trade and the humorists, and the bibliography of articles on American literature appearing in English periodicals. (G. GIOVANNINI)

HERMENS, FERDINAND. *The Tyrants's War and the People's Peace.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 249. $2.75.) Mr. Hermens insists upon a realistic peace. If it is too drastic, he claims, public opinion in the democracies will shortly give its tacit permission to a forcible revision by a Germany, united, as after Versailles, by an urge to justify itself and to reassert its right to be great. The peace must last and it probably will not if it is dictated merely by vindictiveness. The author rightfully belittles the obsession of indicting a race. Hitler and other bigots have amply demonstrated how absurd and how evil is any "racial theory." But many so-called broad-minded people are more race-conscious than Hitler. Mr. Hermens refers to the "Vansittart-Hearnshaw-Ludwig" view of German history, which attributes aggressiveness to the Germans throughout the ages, in Mr. Ludwig's case for two thousand years.

Threats to dismember Germany are, of course, in violation of the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and give material to the Nazi propaganda machine. The Nazi party cannot survive a defeat; it relies on a succession of victories over the "decadent democracies." As Mr. Hermens points out, the Nazi creed places so much emphasis on the superiority of the possessor of superior force that the mere fact of defeat tends to break down the whole ideology.

Many will disagree with several of the author's statements. "Even if historical situations are never exactly identical, historical parallels hold true as far as the human factor is concerned" (p. 3). Did British public opinion become receptive to anti-German propaganda only in the late 1890's (p. 16)? In regard to the Frankfurt parliament, the author states that no foreign government was firmly enough in the saddle to threaten military intervention in order to divide and rule the German states (p. 36). But Russia was guilty of this. Again, although it would be wrong, as the author points out (p. 38), to assume that Naziism is the logical result of the development of an anti-democratic philosophy, still the works of Fichte, Hegel, Nietzsche, and Treitschke created the spiritual climate con-

ducive to totalitarianism. However, with the main thesis of the book few will disagree, a peace must be just as well as severe if it is to be lasting. (BROTHER BASIL L. LEE)

MOLL, ARISTIDES A. *Aesculapius in Latin America.* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co. 1944. Pp. xii, 639. $7.00.) This book, the history of medicine in the Latin American countries, is the first of its kind published in English. It is divided into two parts of equal length: colonial times (1492-1808), and the era of independence. Three introductory chapters deal with the medical knowledge and surgical practice of the Indians and Spain's medical status at the time of the discovery of America. The author does not take up each country separately, but instead studies each subject by country, which gives more homogeneity to his work. All that pertains to medicine directly and indirectly, like native environment and autochthonous diseases which conditioned everywhere the work of the physicians, is carefully examined.

There is a chapter on the missions. "The medical and sanitary phase of the task accomplished by the Catholic missionaries, and especially the Jesuits in Latin America, is entitled to the fullest recognition." The first missionaries became physicians by necessity. Since St. Ignatius of Loyola had said that "charity excuses everything," the Jesuits permitted their brethren experienced in medicine to treat patients where physicians were scarce, except where burning or cutting was necessary. "In an emergency even cutting and burning might be done." Medicine in the United States owes much to foreign schools: Scotch, English, French, and German. In Latin America we find added to those foreign influences that of the mother country and Italy. Ethnologically, French Canada is Latin. The author, however, has not thought that the history of medicine in Quebec fell within the scope of his work. By Latin America he means the countries that lie south of the Mexican border. (GABRIEL NADEAU)

ROGERS, ANDREW DENNY, III. *John Merle Coulter, Missionary in Science.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 321. $3.75.) John Merle Coulter, the subject of this biography, was born in 1851 in China, where his father was a missionary. At the age of fourteen he entered Hanover College in Indiana, from which he graduated in 1870. That year he decided to devote his life to the study of botany, and in 1872 he undertook a scientific exploration of the western states. His first paper, published in 1875, dealt with the flora of Jefferson County, Indiana. That same year he founded a botanical bulletin which became later the *Botanical Gazette.* This made him known to all the botanists of the United States. The delineation in catalogue form of the flora of Indiana was another accomplishment of Coulter during those years. His most fruitful work was done at Wabash College. In 1891 he became president of Indiana University and in his position spent the best part of his time in administrative duties. He continued his botanical studies, however. Two years later he was elected president of Forest Lake College, thus assuming attaching responsibilities which he did not foresee. At the end of the century Coulter was generally recognized as the leader in world botany. His books and papers, his lectures, his scientific explorations had made him widely known in this country and abroad. In 1922 he dedicated the biological building at McGill University, Montreal. He died in

1928. This work is, through the life of Coulter, a study of the development of American experimental research in botany. It is a contribution toward the eventual writing of a complete history of that science in the United States. (GABRIEL NADEAU)

THOMAS, A. H. (Ed.). St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. Deputy-Keeper of City Records. *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls . . . of the City of London. A. D. 1413-1437.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xli, 369. $3.75.) This volume continues the publication of abstracts of the old municipal records of London. The plea and memoranda rolls contain notices of matters which mayor, aldermen, or citizens desired to have recorded; they do not include court trials nor municipal finance or administration, but rather a fairly miscellaneous collection of notices of the transactions of city business men, petitions, bonds, gifts, and complaints of one citizen against another. The entries illustrate a number of topics, such as the law merchant, foreign merchants and trade, business loans, apprenticeship, household goods, and everyday life and social conditions. These rolls include also the ward presentments, or the reports of the inquest juries of the wards, for the years 1422 and 1423; these preserve information about the humbler matters that were "nuisances" in the local neighborhoods—buildings in need of repair, poor pavements, offenders against public sanitation, notoriously bad characters, business conducted contrary to civic regulations or by those who were not citizens of the city. The introduction offers special studies of the gifts of goods and chattles which are recorded in frequent entries in these rolls, of the city wards, and of the languages in which this group of rolls was written; English, French, and Latin were used, with English making notable growth at the expense of French. In a few cases the editor has printed a complete document in the original fifteenth-century English. There are full indexes. (CARLETON M. SAGE)

VILLARD, HENRY. *The Early History of Transportation in Oregon.* Edited by Oswald Garrison Villard. [University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in History No. 1.] (Eugene: University Press. 1944. Pp. v, 99. Cloth $2.00; paper $1.00.) In his introduction, the editor of this work states that inasmuch as Henry Villard "had helped to shape the destiny of those states [Oregon and Washington] in no inconsiderable degree, he thought that an authentic account of his efforts in promoting their growth would be of interest to their people and of value as a contribution to their history." Although he has compressed it within the narrow limits of ninety-nine pages, the account does justice to the intention of the author and offers an interesting and informative insight into the beginnings of the great railroad and navigation enterprises of Oregon. Written in 1900, the manuscript, at Villard's request, was not published for many years; it first appeared in 1926 in serialized form in the Portland *Oregonian.*

After two chapters on the early attempts to establish transportation facilities in that region, Villard devotes the major portion of his book to the recounting of his own part in the organization of several companies during the years 1874 to 1883, and his consequent domination of practically all railroad and steamship corporations in the Northwest. The author first came to Oregon in 1874 as the representative of German holders of Oregon railroad bonds to investigate the

worth of their investments. Impressed with the opportunities there, he took a personal interest in transportation enterprises and soon became a recognized leader in that field by securing control of several corporations. In 1881, he achieved perhaps his greatest coup by pooling most of the existing Oregon and Washington railway interests and securing the presidency of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. The account ends in 1883, the year of the completion of the Northern Pacific as a transcontinental road, when Villard was at the zenith of his power as a financier and capitalist. Shortly thereafter he lost a large part of his fortune and resigned most of his executive positions. Later on, with the help of German backers, he was able to resume his financial standing.

Villard's frankness is without restraint, and perhaps accounts for the long interval between the writing of the book and its publication. He does not hesitate to record his impressions of those with whom he associated in his business dealings. He is particularly harsh on Ben Holladay, and Jay Gould is not spared. Be it said in his favor, however, that he is equally willing to admit his own mistakes and failures. There is evidence throughout that the author "took pains to be accurate in the compilation of facts, dates, and figures." If there is any criticism in this regard, it is of the superabundance of figures. To one unfamiliar with the intricate, financial terminology of Wall Street many statements would need considerable explanation.

On the whole this work is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the history of transportation and its influence in the development of the United States. It will prove of real service to future historians of the Northwest. (GEORGE M. WAGGETT)

WHITAKER, ARTHUR P. (E4.) *Inter-American Affairs: 1942.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 252. $3.00.) This second annual volume in the series of (to quote the foreword) "periodic reports on contemporary developments in the complex and rapidly changing field of inter-American affairs" was edited (as was Volume I) by Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania. It presents an unusually fine group of essays by competent authorities in their respective fields.

Politics and diplomacy are written on by Professor Whitaker and John P. Humphrey. Industry, commerce, and finance are handled by George Wythe and Constant Southworth. Rex Crawford contributes the section on cultural relations and Katherine F. Lenroot and Eugene Owens the sections on social welfare and labor legislation in Latin America respectively. George C. Dunham writes on health, Kenneth Holland on technical co-operation, and the book closes with a summary and prospect by Dr. Whitaker. The appendices, maps, chart, and statistical tables are especially useful and there is a good index.

In any work of this kind it is difficult to pick out material for criticism. Such reports as are given here must be based on information, often largely official, that has to be taken pretty much at its face value if any reports are to be published at all. As time passes, many of the concepts presented in the volume will have to be revised in the light of further investigation and research. Largely for this reason, the reviewer cannot refrain from complimenting Professor Whitaker on his summary of the facts (as they were known up to 1942) relating to the Mexican movement known as Sinarquismo. Too many American journalists have written

about this formidable agrarian movement as though it were a Nazi or Fascist mask for a Mexican Falangista organization. Dr. Whitaker, although obviously unfriendly to the Sinarquistas and suspicious of what he considers a totalitarian streak in the makeup of their organization, is frank enough to make this bald statement: " . . . even among its strongest opponents it was privately admitted that the Synarchists' case against the vices of the Mexican Revolutionary regime was a formidable one and that the main strength of the movement lay in the spontaneous reaction of large numbers of the Mexican people themselves against these vices: last-ditch apologists for this regime were merely deceiving themselves, or trying to deceive others, when they represented the U. N. S. as merely a product of Nazi-Fascist intrigue" (p. 29). Of President Avila Camacho and the Sinarquistas, Dr. Whitaker writes: " . . . in view of his professed and doubtless sincere devotion to the cause of the United Nations, his tolerant attitude towards the U. N. S. was a warning to outsiders not to jump to the conclusion that it was a treasonable, pro-Nazi organization, for he was presumably better informed about its character and purpose than any outsider could be"(p.30).

Although the Sinarquistas have been suppressed since Professor Whitaker wrote the above lines, it is the reviewer's opinion that they will play a leading (if not dominant) part in the Mexican presidential elections of 1946. (PAUL V. MURRAY)

WHYTE, WILLIAM FOOTE. *Street Corner Society.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. xxii, 284. $3.00.) In this book the author reports on a study of an Italian immigrant slum district which he calls Cornerville in the heart of an "Eastern City." Mr. Whyte spent three and one-half years as a participant observer in this district which was known throughout the city as a "mysterious, dangerous and depressing area." He says in his preface:

> It is customary for the sociologist to study the slum district in terms of 'social disorganization' and to neglect to see that an area such as Cornerville has a complex and well-established organization of its own. I was interested in that organization. I found that in every group there was a hierarchical structure of social relations binding the individuals to one another and that the groups were also related hierarchically to one another. Where the group was formally organized into a political club, this was immediately apparent, but for informal groups it was not less true. While the relations in such groups were not formally prescribed, they could be clearly observed in the interactions of individuals. To determine the relative standing of members of the group I paid particular attention to the origination of action, When the group or several of its members engaged in some common activity. I wanted to know who suggested what was to be done and whose agreement was necessary before the action could be carried out . . .

Mr. Whyte's findings are presented under two general headings: "Corner Boys and College Boys" and "Racketeers and Politicians," followed by conclusions regarding "The Gang and the Individual," "The Social Structure," and "The Problem of Cornerville." The study contains much valuable material on social structure, social mobility, and factors which may affect social distance. The book is not only full of case material graphically presented, but the story of Cornerville is told in narrative form with a human interest and feeling for people which gives the reader an unusual insight into the daily lives of the dwellers in this "underworld" district. (JOSEPHINE C. BROWN)

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Filas, F. L., S.J., *The Man Nearest to Christ. Nature and Historic Development of the Devotion to St. Joseph.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. xix, 217. $2.50.) The latest addition to the Religion and Culture Series edited by Joseph Husslein, S.J.

Furfey, Paul Hanly, *The Mystery of Iniquity.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. 192. $2.00.)

Godbold, Albea, *The Church College of the Old South.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 221. $3.00.)

Golob, Eugene Owen, *The Méline Tariff: French Agriculture and Nationalist Economic Policy.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 266. $3.75.)

Goodchild, Sister Mary Antonine, O.P., *Gregorian Chant for Church and School.* (Boston: Ginn & Co. 1944. Pp. viii, 130. $1.00). This slender volume, by the director of the Department of Music Education at Rosary College, is intended to supply suitable plain chant material for adolescent youth.

Gorges, Raymond, *The Story of a Family through Eleven Centuries being a History of the Family of Gorges.* (Boston: Privately Printed. 1944. Pp. xxiv, 289.)

Grant, Dorothy Fremont, *Margaret Brent, Adventurer.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1944. Pp. x, 293. $2.50.) An historical novel based on the life of one of colonial Maryland's outstanding women.

Gutkind, E. A., *Creative Demobilisation.* Vol. I. *Principles of National Planning;* Vol. II. *Case Studies in National Planning.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 331; viii, 280. $6.00 per set.) The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, edited by Karl Mannheim, issues these two volumes on post-war reconstruction in the British Isles. Volume I is written by E. A. Gutkind, who edits Volume II as well, a symposium of case studies on various phases of national life which will need reconstruction following the war.

Hinkson, Pamela, *Golden Rose.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. 371. $2.50.)

Hockett, Homer Carey, and Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Land of the Free. A Short History of the American People.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. xxviii, 765. $4.00.) This is a shorter version of the authors' two-volume work, *Political and Social Growth of the American People.*

Hofstadter, Richard, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 191. $2.50.)

Jordan, Max, *Beyond All Fronts. A Bystander's Notes on This Thirty Years War.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. xiv, 386. $3.00.)

Kelly, Sister M. Jamesetta, *Life and Times as Revealed in the Writings of St. Jerome Exclusive of His Letters.* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. LXX. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 173. $2.00.) The author has dug out many nuggets of information on the economic, professional, social, public, and religious life of Jerome's period.

Knaplund, Paul, *Letters from the Berlin Embassy. Selections from the Private Correspondence of British Representatives at Berlin and Foreign Secretary Lord Granville 1871-1874, 1880-1885.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1944. Pp. 428. Cloth, $1.25.)

Krout, John Allen, and Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830.* A History of American Life, Vol. V. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. xxiii, 487. $4.00.)

Lane, Frederic C., *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418-1449.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. 224, xiv. $2.25.)

Lemkin, Raphael, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress.* (New York: Columbia University Press for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. 1944. Pp. xxxviii, 674. $7.50.)

Lord, Clifford L., Ed., *The Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls.* Vol. I. *The Continental Congresses and the Congresses of the Confederation, 1777-1789.* (Cooperstown, New York: New York State Historical Association. 1943. Pp. viii, not numbered.)

Maat, William A., O.S.B., *A Rhetorical Study of St. John Chrysostom's De Sacerdotio.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 84. $1.00.) Volume LXXI of the Patristic Studies of the Catholic University of America.

McGann, Sister Agnes Geraldine, *Nativism in Kentucky to 1860.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 172. $1.75.) A Ph.D. dissertation which is one of the series of studies on American Nativism edited by Professor Richard J. Purcell.

Marcham, Frederick George, *The British Commonwealth. An Experiment in National Self-Government and International Co-operation.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1944. Pp. 98. 40¢.) The Goldwin Smith Professor of English History in Cornell University contributes the most recent number to that University's curriculum series in world history. As in the previous numbers, the brochure carries a list of selected readings and study and discussion questions.

Marguerite, Sister M., S.N.D., *Here We Come.* (Boston: Ginn & Co. 1944. Pp. 48. 28¢.)

————, *Workbook for Here We Come* and *This Is Our Home.* (Boston: Ginn & Co. 1944. Pp. 65. 28¢.) Further aids in the Faith and Freedom series of readers for the grades.

Maritain, Jacques, *The Dream of Descartes.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1944. Pp. 220. $3.00.) The Philosophical Library here makes available five essays of Maritain on Descartes and cognate subjects, the first three chapters of which appeared originally in 1920 and 1922. The essays are well-documented with over thirty pages of notes, but there is no index. The translation has been made by Mabelle L. Andison.

Martin, Sidney Walter, *Florida during the Territorial Days.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 308. $3.00.)

Maryknoll Mission Letters. Vol. II, *1944.* (New York: Field Afar Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 55. 50¢.) The second volume of the Maryknoll letters for 1944 contains eleven letters from China and fifteen from Latin America. In spite of the war in the Far East, the missionaries continue their difficult labors.

Merriman, Roger Bigelow, *Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-1566.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 325. $3.50.)

Millgram, Abraham E., *Sabbath, the Day of Delight.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1944. Pp. xxx, 495. $3.00.) This volume is the second in the Jewish Holiday Series projected by the Jewish Publication Society of America. The author gives the history of the Sabbath as a Jewish institution, discusses the traditional and reform rites connected with the Jewish services of that day of devotion, and presents an analysis of the decline of the Sabbath observance in recent years.

Morgan, Arthur E., *Edward Bellamy.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 468. $5.00.)

Nye, Russel B., *George Bancroft, Brahmin Rebel.* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. x, 340, xii. $3.50.)

Ortega y Gasset, José, *Mission of the University.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. 103. $2.00.) The Spanish author of *Revolt of the Masses* in six brief chapters here discusses the role of a university.

Parker, Donald Dean, *Local History. How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It.* (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1944. Pp. xiv, 186. $1.00.)

Patrick, Rembert W., *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 401. $3.75.)

Pattee, Richard, *Essai sur l'évolution historique de l'Amérique espagnole.* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat. 1944. Pp. vi, 76.)

Peel, Albert, Ed., *The Notebook of John Penry, 1593.* Camden Third Series, Vol. LXVII. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xxviii, 99.)

Péguy, Charles, *Men and Saints. Prose and Poetry.* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1944. Pp. 303. $2.75.) Anne and Julian Green have rendered into English a number of selections from the prose and poetry of this original French thinker who was cut off by death in September, 1914. It is a companion volume to *Basic Verities,* published some time ago by Pantheon Books, Inc. The present volume is provided with an introduction which emphasizes Péguy's religious philosophy.

Penn Tercentenary Committee, *Remember William Penn, 1644-1944.* (Harrisburg: Department of Public Instruction. 1944. Pp. xvii, 173; vi, 78.)

Pepler, Conrad, O.P., *Lent. A Liturgical Commentary on the Lessons and Gospels.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. ix, 406. $4.00.)

Pohl, Frederick J., *Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 249. $3.00.)

Rich, E. E., Ed., *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, 1839-44.* (London: Champlain Society for Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1943. Pp. xlix, 427.)

Sands, William Franklin, and Joseph M. Lalley, *Our Jungle Diplomacy.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. 250. $2.50.)

Schilpp, Paul Arthur, Ed., *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell.* Vol. V in the *Library of Living Philosophers.* (Northwestern University. 1944. Pp. xv, 815. $4.00.) Twenty-one contemporary philosophers and scientists here hold pre-mortem examination of the philosophy of Bertrand Russell, late of England and now at Bryn Mawr. Being pre-mortem, Mr. Russell is able to arise and reply to his critics after they have finished with him and to preface their remarks with an autobiography which he calls "My Mental Development." One after another of his critics attempt to explain and evaluate Russell's logic, especially its mathematical aspect, his "theory of descriptions," philosophy of language, theory of knowledge, philosophy of science, neutral monism, views of empirical knowledge, metaphysics, ethics, philosophy of religion, social, educational, and economic philosophy, and finally his philosophy of history. Russell's reply to his critics is much more precise and satisfactory than the replies which Dewey, Santayana, Whitehead, and Moore made to their critics in the preceding volumes in this series. A mere indication of the titles of the essays in this volume indicates the scope of Russell's mind. More perhaps than any other one man he is the philosopher of modern science. The volume is well-conceived and executed. Again we must express regret that Editor Schilpp has seen fit to ignore the neo-scholastic view of Russell. This apparently is by now his fixed policy, an unfortunate one, to say the least. (Charles A. Hart.)

Schneiderman, Harry, Ed., *The American Jewish Year Book 5705 (Sept. 18, 1944 to Sept. 7, 1945.)* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1944. Pp. xxx, 620. $3.00.)

Schroll, Sister Agnes Claire, *The Social Thought of John Lancaster Spalding, D.D.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. xxii, 297. $3.00.) This monograph is Volume XI in the University's Studies in Sociology. The author devotes a section to Spalding's thought on social institutions, a second to social problems, and a third section to factors in social improvement. It is a sad commentary on the state of some ecclesiastical archives to find that Sister Agnes Claire was compelled to brief the life story of this important bishop to thirteen pages. The fault, however, is not hers, for no student can be expected to give more on Spalding's life, since the bishop's papers have practically all been destroyed. Unfortunately, the same situation will confront would-be biographers of other outstanding American prelates, notably Archbishop Ireland.

Simkins, Francis Butler, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 577. $4.50.)

Spell, Jefferson Rea, *Contemporary Spanish-American Fiction.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 323. $3.00.) A discussion of Ibero-American fiction from 1914 to 1942 which carries a bibliography and a good index.

Steck, Francis Borgia, O.F.M., *El primer colegio de América, Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco.* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Franciscanos. 1944. Pp. 106. $2.00.)

Story of Jesus. A Little New Testament. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. 119. $1.50.) This slender volume, with the biblical texts selected from the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine edition, is intended to make more lucid for little children pertinent passages of the New Testament. Illustrations are provided by Maud and Miska Petersham.

Sullivan, Frank, Ed., *Key Thinkers and Modern Thought. St. Louis University Studies in Honor of St. Thomas Aquinas,* Vol. II. (St. Louis: St. Louis University. 1944. Pp. v, 74.) Eight essays on some leading philosophers and scientists.

Sweet, William Warren, *Revivalism in America, Its Origin, Growth and Decline.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. xv, 192. $2.00.)

Syrett, Harold Coffin, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898, a Political History.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 293. $3.25.)

Thorndike, Lynn, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 476. $5.50.)

Trend, J. B., *The Civilization of Spain.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. 223. $1.25.)

Wellmuth, John, S.J., *The Nature and Origins of Scientism.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1944. Pp. 60. $1.50.) This little volume is the eighth in a series which has brought to the general reading public the annual Aquinas Lecture at Marquette University. Father Wellmuth is chairman of the Department of Philosophy in Loyola University, Chicago.

Whitton, John B., Ed., *The Second Chance. America and the Peace.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 235. $2.50.) The library on the subject of the United States' role in the coming peace is steadily growing. The present book presents seven essays by as many authors on various phases of the problem.

Wittke, Carl, *Against the Current. The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-80).* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. x, 342. $3.75.)

Wriston, Henry M., *Strategy of Peace.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1944. Pp. vii, 159. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50¢.) To the rapidly increasing number of books on the subject of the post-war foreign policy of the United States, the president of Brown University, has added his own. One of the novel features of the volume is the author's treaty of peace which he draws up for the statesmen's guidance, to the individual clauses of which he adds his commentary.

Von Martin, Alfred, *Sociology of the Renaissance.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 100. $2.50.)

Zimmermann, Odo John, O.S.B., *The Late Latin Vocabulary of the Variae of Cassiodorus.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. xx, 277. $2.75.) Volume XV of the Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature. A very useful instrument for historians who seek to exploit the treasures of Cassiodorus. A long section on the technical terms of administration is especially valuable. The work is lithoprinted.